GREAT MASTERS IN PAINTING & SCULPTURE

KU-427-008

To Isabel
With love from Aunt Elsie
Xmas 1900.

The Great Masters
in Painting and Sculpture
Edited by G. C. Williamson

CORREGGIO

THE GREAT MASTERS IN PAINTING AND SCULPTURE.

The following Volumes have been issued:

BERNARDINO LUINI. By GEORGE C. WILLIAMSON, Litt.D., Editor of the Series.

VELASQUEZ. By R. A. M. STEVENSON.

ANDREA DEL SARTO. By H. GUINNESS.

LUCA SIGNORELLI. By MAUD CRUTTWELL.

RAPHAEL. By H. STRACHEY.

CARLO CRIVELLI. By G. M'NEIL RUSHFORTH, M.A., Classica Lecturer, Oriel College, Oxford.

CORREGGIO. By SELWYN BRINTON, M.A., Author of "The Renaissance in Italian Art."

DONATELLO. By HOPE REA, Author of "Tuscan Artists." *April* 1

In preparation.

PERUGINO. By G. C. WILLIAMSON, Litt.D., Editor of the Series. *Sept.* 1

MICHAEL ANGELO. By CHARLES HOLROYD, Keeper of the National Gallery of British Art.

THE BROTHERS BELLINI. By S. ARTHUR STRONG, M.A., Librarian to the House of Lords.

TURNER. By CHARLES FRANCIS BELL, M.A., Assistant Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum.

MEMLINC. By W. H. JAMES WEALE, late Keeper of the National Art Library.

EL GRECO. By MANUEL B. COSSIO, Litt.D., Ph.D., Director of the Musée Pedagogique, Madrid.

DELLA ROBBIA. By the MARCHESA BURLAMACCHI.

SODOMA. By the CONTESSA LORENZO PRIULI-BON.

REMBRANDT. By MALCOLM BELL.

FRA ANGELICO. By LANGTON DOUGLAS, M.A.

FRANZ HALS. By Rev. G. S. DAVIES, M.A.

Others to follow.

LONDON: GEORGE BELL & SONS

Correggio, pinx. *Dresden Gallery.*

Madonna with S. Sebastian.

Swan Electric Engraving Co.

CORREGGIO

BY

SELWYN BRINTON, M.A.

BARRISTER-AT-LAW
AUTHOR OF
"THE RENAISSANCE IN ITALIAN ART"

LONDON
GEORGE BELL & SONS
1900

NOTE

Having already given some careful attention to the Art of Correggio in my "Renaissance in Italian Art, Part II.," I have not scrupled to quote from that book in the following pages when it seemed desirable to do so. The quotations would not, however, in the aggregate, cover more than half-a-dozen pages in the following new treatise.

S. B.

CONTENTS

		PAGE
List of Illustrations		vii
Bibliography		ix
Prologue		1
Chapter I.	Correggio's Legend	6
II.	Correggio's Predecessors	16
III.	Correggio's Life	28
IV.	Early Works at Correggio	44
V.	Convent of S. Paolo	60
VI.	Church of S. John the Evangelist	69
VII.	The Frescoes of the Duomo	84
VIII.	Later Religious Paintings	97
IX.	Mythological Paintings	112
Catalogue of Works		123
Index		145

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

		PAGE
Madonna with S. Sebastian . .	*Dresden Gallery* *Frontispiece*	
Lunettes and Roundels of Children	*Convent of S. Paolo, Parma*	34
Lunette of S. John the Evangelist	*S. John the Evangelist, Parma*	38
Madonna of S. Francis . . .	*Dresden Gallery*	44
Madonna, with SS. Benedict and Quentin (by Francesco Bianchi) . . .	*Louvre*	46
Madonna and Jesus with Angels . .	*Uffizi Gallery*	50
Repose on the Journey to Egypt . .	*Uffizi Gallery*	52
Madonna della Scodella . . .	*Parma Gallery*	54
Madonna della Scodella (Detail) . .	*Parma Gallery*	54
Deposition from the Cross . . .	*Parma Gallery*	58
Lunettes and Roundels of Children	*Convent of S. Paolo, Parma*	60
Male Figure Sacrificing .	*Convent of S. Paolo, Parma*	62
Children in a Roundel .	*Convent of S. Paolo, Parma*	64
Children in a Roundel .	*Convent of S. Paola, Parma*	66
Lunettes and Arabesques (by Araldi)	*Convent of S. Paolo, Parma*	66
SS. Peter and Paul in the Cupola	*S. John the Evangelist, Parma*	70
Group from the "Disputà" (by Raphael)	*Vatican, Rome*	70

		PAGE
S. John and S. Augustine, with Angels	*S. John the Evangelist, Parma*	72
Apostles and Child Angels in the Cupola	*S. John the Evangelist, Parma*	74
Apostles and Child Angels in the Cupola	*S. John the Evangelist, Parma*	80
Apostles and Genii in the Cupola .	*Parma Cathedral*	88
Apostles and Genii in the Cupola .	*Parma Cathedral*	90
Apostles and Genii in the Cupola .	*Parma Cathedral*	92
Ascending Virgin, with Saints and Angels, in the Cupola . . .	*Parma Cathedral*	94
Martyrdom of SS. Placidus and Flavia	*Parma Gallery*	98
Marriage of S. Catherine (by Parmigiano)	*Parma Gallery*	102
Madonna of S. Jerome . . .	*Parma Gallery*	104
Madonna of S. Jerome (Detail) .	*Parma Gallery*	104
Head of Angel in the Madonna of S. Jerome	*Parma Gallery*	106
The Holy Night	*Dresden Gallery*	108
Madonna with S. George and Saints	*Dresden Gallery*	110
Jupiter and Antiope	*Louvre*	114
Education of Love	*National Gallery*	116
Danaë and Eros . . .	*Villa Borghese, Rome*	118
Detail from the "Concezione" (by Mazzola-Bedoli)	*Parma Gallery*	122
The Virgin crowned by Christ	*Biblioteca Reale, Parma*	128
The Magdalen reading in a Cave .	*Dresden Gallery*	132
The Virgin adoring the Infant Christ .	*Uffizi Gallery*	134
Adoration of the Kings . .	*Brera Gallery, Milan*	136
Christ in Glory in the Clouds (by Caracci)	*Vatican, Rome*	138
Angels' Heads (copied by Caracci) .	. *Parma Gallery*	142

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Academy, The. March 1872.

Affo, Padre Ireneo. "Ragionamento sopra una stanza dipinta del A. A. del Correggio," etc. Parma, 1796.

Bigi, Cav. Quirino. "Notizie di Antonio Allegri," etc. Modena, 1873.

Blashfield, E. H. and E. W. "Vasari's Lives of the Painters," selected and edited by E. H. and E. W. B. and A. A. Hopkins. (*v.* Vol. iii. pp. 14-36.) Bell & Sons, London, 1897.

Brinton, Selwyn. "The Renaissance in Italian Art." In three parts. (*v.* Pt. ii. ch. iv.) Simpkin, Marshall & Co., London, 1898.

Buquoy, G. Von. "Worte der Begeisterung von der Nacht des Correggio." 1825.

Coxe, W. "Sketches of the Lives of Correggio and Parmigiano." London, 1823.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle. See the *Academy*, March 1872.

David, Lodovico. Wrote an unpublished MS. on Correggio. He was born in 1648.

Eastlake, Sir C. L. "Materials for a History of Oil-painting." Longmans, London, 1869.

Fagan, L. "Works of Correggio at Parma." (22 photographs.) London, 1873.

Gautier, Th. "Guide au Musée du Louvre." Paris, 1882.

Gruyer, G. "Le Corrège au Louvre." (Nouvelle Revue.) 1888.

Heaton, Mrs. Charles. "Antonio Allegri da Correggio." Macmillan, London, 1876.

Heaton, M. C. "Correggio." Sampson Low, London, 1882.

Hopkins, A. A. See Blashfield, E. H. and E. W. 1897.

Kugler. "Handbook of Painting." Murray, London, 1887.

Landon, C. P. "Vie et œuvres des Peintres," 22 vols. 1803-20.

Lomazzo, Gio. Paolo. "Idea del tempio della Pittura." Milano, 1590.

Leoni, Michele. "Pitture di A. A. da Correggio." Modena, 1841.

Luebke, W. "History of Art." London, 1868.

Malaspina, C. "La Vita e le Opere di Correggio." Parma, 1869.

Majoli, A. "La Vita e le Opere del Correggio." (Conversazioni della Domenica.) Milan, 1888.

Mengs, Raphael. "On the Life and Works of Antonio Allegri." 1780.

Meyer, Julius. "Correggio." Leipzig, 1871.

Mignaty, Madame. "Le Corrège, sa Vie et son Œuvre." Paris, 1881.

Morelli, Giovanni. "Italian Masters in German Galleries." Translated by Mrs. Richter. (*v.* The Ferrarese.) Bell & Sons, London, 1883.

Morelli, G. "Italian Painters." Translated by C. J. Ffoulkes. Murray, London, 1892.

Mortini. "Studi intorno il Correggio." Parma, 1875.

Passavant. "Tour of a German Artist." London, 1836.

Pungileoni, Luigi. "Memorie istoriche di A. A., detto il Correggio." Parma, 1817-21.

RESTA, PADRE. "Letters printed by Bottari." End of seventeenth century.

RICCI, CORRADO. "Antonio Allegri da Correggio. His Life, his Friends, and his Time." Translated from the Italian by Florence Simmonds. (37 full-page plates, 190 text illustrations.) London, 1896.

RONDANI, A. "Come visse il Correggio." (Nuova Antologia.) Rome, 1894. "Il Correggio." (Gazetta di Parma.) Parma, 1890.

ROSE, G. B. "Renaissance Masters." New York, 1898.

ROSSI, G. G. "Pitture di Antonio Allegri," etc. Parma, 1800.

SCOTT, LEADER. "Renaissance of Art in Italy." London, 1888.

SYMONDS, J. A. "Renaissance in Italy." "The Fine Arts." Smith Elder. London, 1877. "Sketches in Italy." Leipzig, 1883.

THODE, HENRY. "Correggio's Madonna von Casalmaggiore." (Jahrbuch der K. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen, 1891.) "Correggio." (Künstler Monographien.) Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1898.

TIRABOSCHI. "Work on Correggio." (*v.* Biblioteca Modenese.) 1786.

TOSCHI, PAOLO. "Tutti gli affreschi del Correggio in Parma." Folio. Parma, 1846.

VANNI, G. B. "Frescoes in the Duomo of Parma by C." Rome, 1642.

VASARI, G. "Le Vite dei Pittori Italiani." Firenze, 1550.

VENTURI, CAV. A. "Il pittore delle Grazie." (Nuova Antologia.) Rome, 1890. "Quadri del Correggio per Albinea." ("Archivio Storico," 1. p. 90.) 1888. "Il Maestro di Correggio (Fr. Bianchi Ferrari)." *v.* L'Arte. 1898.

CORREGGIO

PROLOGUE

IN approaching the work of Antonio Allegri, better known as Correggio, we have to deal with an artist who for three centuries now has been at the zenith of his popularity, whose work still remains, and will always remain, of first importance. We are not here treating of some craftsman like Uccello, Masolino, or Melozzo —of great scientific interest, yet whose work to the general reader is comparatively unknown,—but tread, on the contrary, on ground every inch of which has been covered by careful and minute inquiry, where even the vast collection of the Parma Library seems to have yielded her fruit; and all that can be attempted in the volume which forms part of this series is to arrange, co-ordinate, and condense the existing knowledge into a clear, readable, and interesting form.

Yet, in a sense, the results of all these past years of patient minute investigation do not seem to have yielded us very much; the master of Parma shrouds himself still in a certain mystery, and declines to reveal his real self to our interested scrutiny.

It is true that many of the mists of absurd unfounded legend have been swept away by the free air of later criticism: the poverty-stricken miser or misanthrope disappears, the industrious home-loving burgher takes his place; we say of him now that here he appeared

as a witness, here he bought or inherited this house or land, at this or that date he gave his formal receipt for payment of some work by his hand that has been preserved or lost.

But that is really as far as we get: the real man,—with his passions, hopes, aspirations, sorrows,—still remains on one side unknown to our loving thought. I say on one side, and that is the side of his personal life; yet there is another side in which he does reveal himself, in the long series of immortal works which came forth in quick succession from his busy brain and untiring brush.

In these it is that we have to seek the real Correggio: there he has no concealment for us, but takes us into his fullest confidence, and it is in the study of these works, which are detailed and most fully illustrated in the succeeding pages, that we can really come to know, appreciate, perhaps to love, the master.

What, then, is the message which these works convey? What is the special place which our master of Parma holds within the splendid sequence of Italian art which extends from the Byzantines and Giotto down to the Venetian Tiepolo?

Here it is that a wide study of the entire art of the Revival may help to guide my judgment: and, speaking of the epoch which preceded the Revival, the greatest modern biographer of Allegri, the well-known director of the Parma Gallery, has said: "When we consider the life of Italy in the Middle Ages, the cities lay stifled, as it were, under a funereal pall of dense superstition. Pictures of skeletons, and cross-bones, piled at the foot of a crucifix, were common ornaments of the street corners. . . . In times of pestilence, corpses

accumulated up to the very walls in the streets and squares. . . . The general squalor was most apparent in the cities. Life had become one long terror and peril." And yet out of this darkness and terror there sprang up within the Italian spirit the flower of the Revival: this was, in a sense, a reaction; but, it was also a claim by the human spirit for a wider, freer life, an outstretching of the hands towards God's noblest gifts,—the gifts of Knowledge and of Beauty. How it worked out in the search for knowledge can be seen when one considers Boccaccio at Monte Cassino, Poggio at Gallen, turning over the dust-covered manuscripts, the inheritance of dead wisdom, more precious to them than gold; when the splendid youth of turbulent Perugia are seen deserting their feuds or love affairs to study with the Greek refugee Chalcondylas; when we see even Alfonso of Aragon, surrounded by a band of scholars, listening to recitations of Vergil, or Terence; or again at Florence, Cosimo and Lorenzo dei Medici, busy with the acquiring of manuscripts, the patronage of Humanists, and the furtherance of learning.

Then too the search for Beauty can be traced through its manifestation in that same Italian spirit, from the noble Christian art of Giotto and his followers, through the more scientific, more learned utterance of Mantegna, to the splendid sumptuous vision of life of Venice, the enthroned Sea-queen. Just as in the world of letters, so, too, in this world of art these two elements blending, the love of Beauty and the love of Knowledge, are approached always, or at least grasped most certainly and fully, by the recovery of the dead world, the awakening of the Antique Life.

Yet there was another side to that movement of Revival, the side that Boccaccio typifies sometimes most clearly—as in his group of youths and maidens singing their glad "Carola" without the walls of the plague-stricken city,—or that Gentile and Benozzo have grasped and caught for us in their quaint dainty figures. That is the joy and gladness of Life itself, the beauty and happiness of the world, and of all that is living in its sunlight. That is part, too, of the spirit of the Renaissance; that is the smile on the face of awakening Italy, and that is the message of Correggio. Where Leonardo pursues Nature into her secret recesses, foreshadows the future world of science; where Raphael typifies the harmonious being, the senses and intellect and life of the spirit as one and united in their completeness,—for our master it is enough to trace the smiles on glad lovely faces, the radiance of white moving forms, the immense sunlight that floods his pictures like the strong notes of some great song of thanksgiving. Most of all in that wonderful cathedral cupola, which, with all its faults, is yet the expression of his sincerest utterance: no dream of beauty that poet has conceived can equal that radiant world of angel forms which there surrounds us, these genii who light their torches or scatter incense on the sacrifice, those children who float upwards through the golden vaporous clouds: from the grave saints tended by the child angels, from the apostles above and their glad genii, to the uprushing wave of angel forms who soar into the golden haze of the cupola, it is a cry of "Sursum Corda!"—"Lift up your hearts!"—that the old painter of heavenly joy has sent us. Studied technically, he does not appear

as a great draughtsman, like that brilliant succession of Florentines, the Pollajuoli, Donatello, Ghiberti, who culminate in the supreme master of living form, Michelangelo: his studies are mere sketches, notes of pose or movement, and for him the undraped body is not, as for these others, of absorbing attraction in its organic structure, its play of line and curve of muscle, but rather as the expression of his inner vision of ideal beauty, as living forms that gleam out in the radiance of the golden light.

Here he is unequalled, supreme. The dazzling form of sleeping "Antiope" shines out from every other picture, even within the Salon Carré; elsewhere he loves to contrast (in the "Leda," the "Danaë") the living gold-white of the flesh-tints with the dead white of the drapery, or again the pearly tones of the Maddalena (in the "Giorno") with the sunburnt form of the S. Jerome; and even the shadows in these figures are luminous, opalescent, rich in reflected light. Thus the nude attracts him, not indeed from the point of view of pure form, but from that of beauty, light, colour. And here he is always entirely natural, rejoicing with his whole heart in his creation of loveliness, touching always with a tender hand the sweetest, homeliest sentiments; he is the one painter in this world of art who has caught and held fast for us the air that is throbbing with golden sunlight, who has shown its radiance reflected yet again in the glad faces and glorious forms of his saints and angels and wingless genii, that spirit-world of his marvellous creation; but reflected, above all, in the simple, most sweet, untiring theme of Christian art,—the love of Mother and of Child.

CHAPTER I

CORREGGIO'S LEGEND

IN tracing out that wonderful chain of evolution which the Italian genius created in the art of the Renaissance, as we pause at the very moment of the supremest unfolding of that genius, four names sound into our ears, four personalities stand out before us, most potent in their claim, whether of mystery, of serenity, of strength, of living grace; and those names, those personalities, are Leonardo, Raphael, Michelangelo, and Correggio.

Each stands alone in the peculiar qualities of his genius: but while Leonardo is the magician, who touches, even in his art, that new strange world of science, who fascinates us by the mystery of his unfathomable smile, while with Raphael we breathe the wider air of a renewed, harmonious existence, and with Buonarroti grasp after the intense vision of the Prophet and Sybil, it is to Correggio that we turn most of all for a quickened sense of Life, of its light and laughter, its throbbing pulse, and its radiant possibilities.

He is the Faun of the Renaissance, the creature, we might fancy, to whose pointed, furry ears it should be given to hear old Pan pipe his maddening music, who shall feel the stream of life in its most intimate and quickening sense. He, too, has caught that wonderful

Time-spirit, but in a manner diverse from those others, and imprisoned it for us in those radiant figures—saints and sweet fair women and elemental spirits—that live through his immortal creations. In a work like this, devoted to a popular but careful and critical study of the master, I think it then worth while to pause, before commencing on either pictures or biography, to inquire carefully what was Correggio's true position in relation to the whole Art of the Revival, to the careful craftsmen who preceded him, and to the ages of decadence that lay beyond.

And here, at the very outset, nothing will strike us more immediately than the apparent isolation in which this marvellous creative genius seems to have unfolded himself, to have expressed his art, to have lived, and to have died. While his co-equals in artistic power, Raphael, Michelangelo, Leonardo live in the society of popes and princes, acclaimed by the multitude, appreciated to the full by their contemporaries, Antonio Allegri, better known by the name of his birthplace, Correggio, remains almost unrecognised in the wider world of Italy, working out his fascinating dream of beauty in a laborious seclusion, welcoming the commissions and friendly comments (not always, it might seem, even that) of his fellow-townsmen of Parma, gaining the compliment of admission (*inter singulares nostrae congregationis devotos*) to the lay-brotherhood of the Benedictines, or an occasional later commission from the Gonzaghi of Mantua.

A whole legend of Allegri's poverty and neglect had in later ages grown into solid form, become firmly established, and improved by various ingenious additions;

but we must remember that already with Giorgio Vasari this legend had begun to take shape. The famous art-writer had visited Parma twice, it would appear, first on a journey from Florence to Venice in 1542, then again, later, on a journey to Modena, when he stayed also a few days at Parma. The effect on his mind during these hurried visits (in the first of them he went through "in a few days" the art work of Modena, Parma, Verona, and Mantua), was evidently twofold; first, a prejudice against a style which differed in many particulars from the Roman manner he admired, but, very soon, a change to honest and warm admiration for the master's genius. "Correggio," he writes, "was the first in Lombardy who commenced the execution of works in the modern manner; and it is thought that if he had travelled beyond the limits of his native Lombardy and visited Rome, he would have performed wonders, nay, would have given a dangerous rival to many, who, in his day, were called great artists."

The pilgrimage to Rome was, in fact, as Sig. Ricci remarks, deemed essential in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries for a completed artist. "Some were attracted by the classic treasures there collected, others by the marvellous development of new forms in the hands of an army of masters patronised by popes, cardinals, and princes.

"Artists were naturally possessed by a desire, amounting almost to a passion, to visit the Eternal City, and to see the wonders ancient and modern culture had combined to accumulate. To use a phrase of our own day, Rome was looked on as a 'school of perfection,' which many entered by dint of privations and hard-

ships innumerable. To the biographer this event in the life of an artist was always of great interest, and invariably furnished the text for a series of reflections on his style."

We have just seen, in fact, that Vasari mentions this point most particularly in his notice of Correggio, and laments his misfortune in not having been able to visit Rome; while Ortensio Landi, writing as early as 1552, is no less distinct in his statement that Correggio had died young, without visiting Rome. Giorgio Vasari, after saying how much good, in his opinion, it might have done our master to have seen and studied the works of antiquity and those of "the modern masters," continues thus: "We may indeed affirm with certainty that no artist has handled the colours more effectually than Correggio, nor has any painted with a more charming manner, or given a more perfect relief to his figures, so exquisite was the softness of the carnations from his hand, so attractive the grace with which he finished his works."

Here is genuine appreciation, frank and honest admiration from the Aretine critic, though elsewhere his praise may have something of a dubious note; as when, after dwelling with insistence on the necessity of correct drawing as well as good colouring in art, he adds: "To Correggio belongs the great praise of having attained the highest point of perfection in colouring, whether his works were executed in oil or in fresco." And then, with this sentence, he turns suddenly away, almost as if wishing to leave the subject of Allegri's drawing designedly and pointedly alone. But if here he wounds by his reticence, in

dealing with the artist's character and life he goes farther; he creates a legend for which the actual facts seem to afford no foundation. For to Vasari, with his mind accustomed to the splendid life of Raphael and the great Venetians, and to the almost regal position of Michelangelo at Rome in his old age, that quiet laborious life of Correggio at Parma must have seemed of a simplicity that bordered on penury. And with a mind thus predisposed, he proceeds to arrange his facts, or rather the hearsay gossip which filled in the slender store of fact available. "Of a timid and anxious disposition," he now tells us, "he (Allegri) subjected himself to severe and continual labours in his art for the support of his family, which he found an oppressive burden; and, though disposed by nature towards everything good, he nevertheless afflicted himself more than was reasonable in resisting the pressure of those passions by which man is most commonly assailed."

And, later, he goes on to charge the master with penury—"the cares of his family caused Antonio to be very sparing, insomuch that he ultimately became exceedingly penurious." He even draws a terrible, but probably entirely legendary, picture of his end.

"Being at Parma, and having there received a payment of sixty scudi, the sum was given to him in copper money, which he, desiring to carry it to Correggio for some particular demand, loaded himself withal, and then set out on foot for his home. The heat being very great at the time, Antonio suffered much from the burning sun, and sought to refresh himself by drinking water; but a raging fever compelled him to take to his bed, and from this he never raised his head

again, but departed from this life." This whole portion of Vasari's story, and all his remarks on the artist's miserly character, are open to the gravest doubt, and, in fact, are probably without any foundation. Sig. Corrado Ricci, the director of the Gallery of Parma, and one of the best living authorities on Correggio, says, in relation to this story of his end: "This is obviously a fable. Correggio's work in Parma had been finished and paid for some years before; and he was certainly not so poverty-stricken as to have been compelled to make the long journey between Parma and Correggio (a distance of over forty kilometres) on foot. We know from various documents, too, that he had returned to his native city some time before." And elsewhere he adds: "That he was miserly we do not believe. An amicable arrangement, due to his initiative, brought a long litigation over a disputed inheritance to an end. We can well believe, on the other hand, that he was careful and saving. . . . This disposition, misinterpreted or exaggerated by some, caused him to be considered miserly." But the legend, once in circulation — in the absence of more authentic information, as the artist became famous and popular—soon grew and developed. We shall notice that the Caracci lamented his neglect by his fellow-countrymen, in terms which at least imply that that neglect had been unjust and excessive; and next we find Giuseppe Bigellini asserting (in a letter from Correggio, March of 1688) that the great artist's dwelling-place was more like a beggar's hut than anything else.

This house stood in the Borgo Vecchio of Correggio, having been purchased by the Allegri family in May

of 1446; and it was here that in 1514 the commission was given to Antonio for the famous "Madonna of S. Francesco," the negotiations being apparently concluded in his bedroom on the ground floor (*ad terrenum*), where, indeed, he seems to have slept, lived, and painted. The house was left by Antonio to his son, and sold in 1550 to a certain Gherardino Paris. The accommodation may have been limited, but it was very far from a "beggar's hut"; and a clear evidence against this whole view of Correggio's position lies in the letter of Alessandro Caccia to the Duke of Mantua, in which, five months after the master's death, he says: "I hear that he has made comfortable provision for his heirs."

In the face of this testimony, Linguet's assertion that Correggio had died of misery in a village, leaving his family to starvation, falls to pieces. And of equal value is the story of Padre Resta, of Milan, who seems to have brought our artist to Rome in order to fasten on him a collection of dubious drawings; while in the tragedy "Correggio" (date 1816) of the German Oehlenschläger the poverty legend reaches its climax. Here the new additions to the existing anecdotes become positively heart-rending, and the unhappy artist, like the hero of an Adelphi melodrama, is to be observed struggling with a load of undeserved and overwhelming misfortune. Luckily, the plain and sober evidence of records and documents points to a different conclusion, and it is by these that we must be mainly guided in our efforts to reconstruct the biography of the real Correggio.

That biography I shall treat in its detail in another chapter; here I allude to it only sufficiently to show

that the evidence of records points as strongly against extreme indigence as against great wealth. Antonio's father, Pellegrino, seems to have been a man of the middle class, who both owned and rented a fair amount of land, besides his business as a victualler, and who could leave his grand-daughter (Antonio's child), by his will of 1538, a dowry of 240 gold scudi.

His property in land, towards the year 1534, amounted to some 120 Reggian acres; and, earlier in the family records, we find Antonio's grandfather (will dated 1485) leaving a fair addition to the family estate, while his son Lorenzo (Antonio's uncle) was a known artist within that locality, and in this way probably adding to the family earnings and position.

Lastly, coming to Antonio himself, we find that the payments for his work, from the first, were by no means to be despised; a hundred gold ducats is received for the "Madonna of S. Francesco," his first really important commission. For his great commission in the Parma Cathedral, we have, in his own statement, the words,—"I cannot, having regard to our own honour and that of the place, undertake the work for less than 1000 gold ducats"; and we have, after his death, those words of the Governor of Parma: "I hear he has made comfortable provision for his heirs."

All this evidence seems to point conclusively to an existence, not rich or certainly luxurious, but at least comfortable, and assured, above the sharp pressure of poverty. That his payment was really insufficient for the merits of his marvellous artistic faculty is equally certain; and it was this fact which led to the growth of a grossly exaggerated legend. And already, even in the

eighteenth century, this legend was becoming questioned, if not discredited. As early, in fact, as the beginning of that century we find the Swiss painter, David, in a manuscript work, trying to prove that Antonio was descended from an old landed family. The evidence, on the contrary, would seem to suggest that the Allegri were agriculturists, even peasants, who had gradually improved their position, and came to be, on a small scale, land-owners.

Correggio, which gave to Antonio Allegri his best known name, which saw the first expansion of his genius, was itself a township not without importance, with its own reigning family, its own little Court.

It was here that our artist was born, probably in the year (1494) which marked the deaths, in his own neighbourhood, of such leaders of culture as the poet Matteo Maria Boiardo, and the philosopher Giovanni Pico della Mirandola.

It was still governed by its ruling house of the Corregeschi, one of whom, Petrarch's friend, Ghiberto of Correggio, had, in the fourteenth century, even gained for a time the lordship of Parma, though he found himself compelled to sell that city later to the powerful Visconti of Milan. It was here too that "in these days of Antonio's youth, when the splendid Court of Isabella d'Este was at its zenith at Mantua, Veronica Gambara, a daughter of Gianfrancesco Gambara and Alda of the House of Pio at Carpi, came to Correggio as the bride of another Ghiberto."

Antonio was but fourteen when Veronica, as a bride of twenty-four years (1508), arrived in Correggio. In her later friendship with Isabella d'Este she mentions him

by name; and, writing to that patron of art at Mantua of his early talent, describes him to her as "our Antonio."

Thus his youth received its first impulse towards art, not in a remote village, but under the patronage and sympathy of a brilliant and cultured Princess, who lived surrounded by artists and scholars (Ariosto, Bembo, the physician Lombardi, were in her circle), who was the friend of Isabella of Mantua, and of the Emperor Charles himself. Yet, in giving full and due weight to the influence on his youth of Correggio itself and the smaller principalities which lay around his home, we feel that the real, the complete inspiration must have been sought by him in one of the greater centres of Italian Art. Two of these were not far from him —Mantua to the north, the city of Mantegna, Ferrara to the east, the home of the House of Este. In my next chapter I shall turn to the message which came, above all, from these.

CHAPTER II

CORREGGIO'S PREDECESSORS

IN treating of the connection between the whole movement of Humanism and Italian Art, it will be noticed that the appearance of Squarcione at Padua marks the inception of an art which is essentially learned, that "he belongs, in fact, to the whole movement of Humanism; he is as sincere in his enthusiasm for antiquity as Poggio, or Vittorino, or Guarino da Verona."

Squarcione was by trade an embroiderer ("*Sartor et Recamator*," he is called in a document of 1423), who had become smitten with that passion which was in the air, the passion for antiquity. Driven by this impulse, he wandered through Italy and Greece, making drawings, copying pictures, taking casts of sculpture, amassing notes and memoranda, studying everywhere the art and methods of the ancients.

But the greatest debt Italian art owes to Squarcione is that he discovered the genius of Mantegna, taught him the principles of art as he conceived them, even adopted him as his own son. And it is not alone in Mantua itself, with its atmosphere of court life blended with Humanistic culture, that Mantegna's influence becomes apparent and predominant. It extends to Venice, in the work of the later Vivarini,

of Giovanni Bellini (Mantegna's own brother-in-law), who has a definitely Mantegnesque period. In Verona, the work of such men as Liberale da Verona, Bonsignori, and Gianfrancesco Caroto, demands a careful discrimination of the elements imbibed from Andrea's influence; even the strong and markedly original school of Ferrara, as seen, for example, in the work of Ercole de' Roberti Grandi, does not entirely escape Mantegnesque attraction.

It is unlikely, it might be called almost impossible, that the young artist of Correggio—which lay to the south of Mantua, to the west of Ferrara—should have remained entirely without the pale of this far-reaching attraction of the great Paduan. We find, as a matter of fact, that the first works of Antonio Allegri show very markedly Mantegna's influence, and point to his having visited and studied certain of that master's works in Mantua itself.

The date of his visit has been fixed with great probability by the appearance of the plague in Correggio in the year 1511. At this time the Prince of Correggio, Manfredo, with many of his court, terrified at the violence of the epidemic, retired to Mantua for safety, while Veronica Gambara took refuge with her widowed mother, Alda Pia.

Pungileoni has endeavoured to prove that Correggio himself followed the court of Manfredo to Mantua in 1511, and resided there till 1513. Taking the accepted date of his birth, which is 1494, he would then have been seventeen years of age—the age at which he would be most open to receive a great and lasting artistic impression — while the fact which we have

noticed, that he was not without interest at the little Court of the Correggeschi, adds to the likelihood that he followed them in their temporary exile.

Similarly, the appearance of the plague in Mantua itself in 1513 fixes a very probable date of his return; but we must remember here that there is no absolute documentary proof of this visit, and that the strongest proofs of the visit are furnished by the artist's own paintings.

Mantegna's Influence

One of the most marked features in Correggio's work is his use of figures seen in foreshortening — a practice which, begun already in S. Giovanni Evangelista of Parma, he carried almost to an excess in his frescoes of the Parma Cathedral, where the term, "a hash of frogs," is said (as we shall see later) to have been applied to the struggling limbs of his figures that surge upwards into the great dome. It has been suggested to account for this knowledge of foreshortened attitudes, that he had seen and studied the works of Melozzo da Forli, who had himself come under the influence of the Tusco-Umbrian Piero della Francesca. Melozzo, it may be remembered, had painted in the church of the Santi Apostoli at Rome an "Ascension," with the figures seen foreshortened from below, and the contention that Allegri had studied these frescoes implied, therefore, his visit to Rome, another extremely disputed point. I propose to take this point in detail later on, but here I shall be content to say that we find quite enough in Mantegna's work to believe that

Allegri later might have learnt his wonderful grasp of figures in perspective (and especially "*di sotto in su*," *i.e.* from below upwards) from the splendid science of the Paduan master.

For this art of the great Mantegna was essentially scientific, and from the first the problems of perspective had attracted him. Already in the frescoes of the Eremitani, his first work of importance, he is seeking to master first one and then another problem of perspective, to consider his work in relation to the plane of the spectator, who will look up at it from below.

Later on we shall find that in his work for the Gonzaghi of Mantua, in the Camera degli Sposi, he continues his researches, he seeks to solve fresh and more complex problems, the examples to be noticed more especially here being the lovely group of winged children, who uphold an inscription above the door, and the circular balcony, from which ladies of the court seem to lean over, and to look down into the room.

In the former of these—the group of winged boy-angels — we may trace the direct predecessors of Correggio's "putti," who hide behind the robes of his saints and sport within the inner courts of Heaven, who must smile, even before the austere S. Bernard, and play games with the warrior S. George's armour. For here, in these children who are poised above the door, upholding an outspread scroll, and bathed in such clear light and shadow that they seem almost to live and move before us, may he not have received the first suggestion which, cherished and cultivated through his quiet hours of labour, was to achieve its fulfilment in such creations as the "Giorno" and the

"Notte." Above all, in the whole decoration of the room, where wreaths of fruit and flowers, medallions of the Caesars, children, or small mythological groups are seen as if in relief and lighted as from a window above, might he not have gained an idea, not alone for his frescoes of S. Paolo, but also for the whole scheme and treatment of lighting in many of his later works. How closely those later works followed the suggestions derived from Mantegna I shall now seek to show, commencing by a very striking example.

In 1495, Mantegna, then in the service of the Gonzaghi, had painted for Francesco Gonzaga a picture to commemorate the battle of Fornovo, in which his patron had been captain-general of the Italian forces. This painting, which is now in the Louvre, stood formerly in the church of Santa Maria della Vittoria. Madonna is enthroned with the Divine Child beneath a canopy of foliage and fruit: in the beautiful decoration beneath the throne we see the inscription, "*Regina Coeli —Alleluia!*" and the figures in low relief of Adam and Eve. Beneath the throne the Gonzaga kneels, in full armour, with pointed Spanish beard; around it are grouped the grave and beautiful warrior-saints, S. Michael and S. George, with SS. Andrew and Longinus. Let us turn now to Correggio's first great and noted altar-piece, the "Madonna di San Francesco," now at Dresden, painted (in 1515) for the Minorite Friars of S. Francesco at Correggio.

Here, too, Madonna sits enthroned, with beneath her, standing in service, the great Franciscan Saints, SS. Francis of Assisi and Anthony of Padua, and on the left of the throne SS. John Baptist and Catherine

of Alexandria; but what is most striking is that the figure of Madonna herself has been transported in its entirety from "Our Lady of the Victory." In Mantegna's picture she bends from her splendid throne as if in sympathy and pity; "serenely smiling," as Ricci says, "she extends her right hand with a protecting gesture over Francesco Gonzaga, Lord of Mantua, who kneels below." In Correggio's painting it is, of course, S. Francis, the patron of the order, that she takes under her special protection, and who kneels, looking upward with a supplicating gesture: but though the Child has been varied, for he is seated, more infantine, more of a baby in Allegri's thought, though the gesture of benediction is preserved, yet the figure of the Virgin herself—the position of the trunk and lower limbs, the poise of the head in relation to the body, the extended right arm and hand—is identical with the creation of the earlier master. A comparison of the two pictures will be of interest to the reader, and entirely convincing: and here he will be able to judge for himself that the young Correggio, in his first great commission, was dominated by memories of the Mantuan master.

Apart from this evidence, which alone would be sufficing, a succession of smaller pictures belonging to this period of his work all carry out the same conclusion. In Alberto's church of S. Andrea at Mantua, where he had founded for himself and his family a sepulchral chapel, Mantegna had painted the Virgin with the Infant Jesus in her lap, and, beside her, S. Elizabeth with the little S. John. By this picture (which, though faded, survives) the younger artist seems to have been attracted and

influenced. A beautiful early work of Correggio in the possession of Cavaliere Benigno Crespi at Milan, shows the Virgin kneeling in adoration before the Babe, in an open landscape, without the stable, with, beside her, S. Elizabeth and S. John, and, on the other side, S. Joseph asleep; here the face of Mantegna's S. Elizabeth reappears, and the exact attitude (reversed from right to left) of the little S. John. Again, in the Sigmaringen Madonna ("Mary with the Child, S. Elizabeth and S. John") the Mantegnesque marked type of S. Elizabeth appears again, and the Child Jesus has been imported into Correggio's picture with very slight alteration, the left leg only having been moved closer to the body: while in the Uffizi Gallery, the Virgin and Child of Mantegna's "Circumcision" may be compared in this connection with Correggio's lovely little panel,—an early work,—of Madonna and the Christ Child listening to the angels making music.

One last example of Mantegna's influence I shall point to in the nine great paintings of the "Triumph of Caesar," commissioned from him by his patron Gianfrancesco Gonzaga. They were finished in 1492, awakened the greatest enthusiasm and critical interest among contemporaries, and now rest at Hampton Court Palace, much damaged by ruthless restoration; it is a Roman Triumph which here wends its way, and in which we see the sacrificial beasts wreathed with garlands, the smoking incense, the captives, the trophies, rich vessels under which the bearers are bent, the war-elephants advancing in stately line heralded by beautiful draped youths; lastly, Caesar himself in his car of state.

To be noticed particularly in one of the canvases, above the procession of advancing elephants, is a beautiful group of youths, nude or draped, who kneel or stand upright, and light their torches at the massive and flaming candelabra. It is not surely going too far to see in this lovely group a suggestion for one of the most perfect of Allegri's mature creations; I mean the groups of boy genii upon the painted balustrade of Parma Cathedral, who stand beside the upgazing apostles, bear great vessels of metal, pour incense on the blazing candelabra, look down into the church, or upwards, toward the Virgin in the dome with her crowd of thronging saints and angels.

In this creation of his maturest genius, in which Correggio's love of pure beauty revels unchecked, we may thus trace the first message to him of the Mantuan master, just as we traced it in the facial types, the grouping, sometimes the entire figures of his earliest Madonnas; and we find thus that Mantegna's influence over our artist remained as lasting, as it was certainly at the first intensely powerful. But, while giving thus its fullest due to the influence of Mantegna over Correggio, we have also now to ask what influences may have come from elsewhere to develop an art which, in its softness, its almost sensuous beauty, is so essentially different from the severity of the great Mantuan, who had died in the autumn of 1506.

Later Influences

The place occupied by him for so many years and with such honour at the Mantuan Court was now

vacant, and—it is said by Isabella d'Este's suggestion—the post of Court painter of the House of Mantua was offered by Francesco Gonzaga to Lorenzo Costa. Abandoned at Bologna by the expulsion and ruin of his generous patrons, the Bentivogli, we may believe that Lorenzo readily accepted this offer; he is very soon settled at Mantua, painting for Francesco Gonzaga in the palace of S. Sebastiano, and his next work is the "Allegory of the Court of Isabella d'Este" painted for the "Paradiso," or private cabinet of the Duchess, and which is now in the Louvre. Costa remained with the Gonzaghi at Mantua till his death in March of 1535, Correggio having died (as we shall see later) in the March of 1534: and it is certain, that if Correggio came to Mantua, as I have assumed, between 1511 and 1513, he must have found Costa installed there as Court painter, and might well have come under his influence, or possibly even have worked under his tuition. And meanwhile another probable pupil of Cosimo Tura, Francesco Bianchi, called il Frarré (*i.e.* the Ferrarese), established himself in 1480 at Modena, and becomes thus a link in the chain which binds the soft, almost wanton grace of Correggio to the hard angular severity of the early Ferrarese.

I refer here to the tradition based on a statement in the Modenese chronicle of Tommasino di Bianchi, called de' Lancelotti, that Correggio was the pupil at Modena of the Ferrarese Francesco Bianchi, a statement which was fully accepted by Morelli himself. This much we may take for certain, that the art of Antonio Allegri was derived from the art of the Ferrarese, then dominant within the Emilia. As Morelli is the first leading

critic who insisted strongly on the Ferrarese derivation of Correggio's art, it may be worth our while to see what his view on the whole question really is.

After mentioning ("Italian Painters") the traces of Francia's and of Costa's influence—as in that medallion at the base of the throne—in the Dresden "Madonna of S. Francis," he adds: "This fine early work is, however, by no means the earliest of Correggio's productions." And he then goes on to ask: "What then were the works produced by Correggio prior to 1514, that is, before he painted the altar-piece now in the Dresden Gallery?"

In answer to this query he mentions the following pictures:—1. A small panel in the collection of Dr. Frizzoni, at Milan. "The colouring, Ferrarese in character. The hands resemble those of Lorenzo Costa." The subject is the "Marriage of S. Catherine."

2. The "Madonna and Child, with Saints," in the Pavia Gallery. (From the Malaspina collection.)

3. The "Madonna and Child with Angels," in the Uffizi. (Mentioned above; has been attributed to Titian.)

4. "The Little Faun playing a Pipe," in the Munich Gallery.

5. Mr. Benson's picture (London), of "Christ kneeling to take leave of His Mother." (Here something of Lotto seems to appear.)

6. Signore Crespi's "Nativity," at Milan. (Mentioned above; a very lovely early work of Correggio.) Morelli says, "Altogether Ferrarese."

Between the years 1512-1514, the same critic would place:—

7. The "Sigmaringen Madonna." (Mentioned above.) Morelli says here, "St Elizabeth was evidently taken from Mantegna."

8. Lord Ashburton's picture of "SS. Martha and Mary beside SS. Leonard and Peter."

These, then, are the works on which Morelli based his Ferrarese derivation of Correggio's art. Several of them, the reader will have noticed, we have been through before, and traced in them the most direct evidence of Andrea Mantegna's inspiration.

But there is in them another influence, another inspiration—something softer, sweeter, more tranquil, and so entirely diverse, that no early work of Correggio's has been ever confused with those of Mantegna. This influence he derived, as we have now seen, from the Ferrarese, possibly from Francesco Bianchi—if he really worked, as a strong tradition suggests, for some time under his tuition—almost certainly, however, from Costa, who was the chief painter of Mantua at the very time when the young Allegri was probably studying and absorbing the message given in Mantegna's pictures. Here we tread a fairly sure ground; but beyond this all becomes uncertain, for other influences there are, which stream in from the art of northern Italy, become absorbed, assimilated, re-created in Allegri's painting.

Leonardo, above all, the magician of art, who had created a new school at Milan, seems to have reached him, and attracted him with the magic of his indefinable smile; only, the smile that in Mona Lisa is mysterious, impersonal, almost haunting, becomes in Correggio the frank, glad outcome of happy human love.

Yet we have no data for any possible assumption of a visit, on his part, to Milan; and our position is similar with reference to Lotto, to the Giorgionesques, even to Raphael, whose attraction has been traced most strongly in the great frescoes of S. Giovanni Evangelista. This special question of a visit to Rome, I shall touch on in the next chapters, which will be given up to an account of his works, and to these records which we possess of Allegri's life and personal relations. But here I shall be content in tracing out his known predecessors, to place him among the great craftsmen of northern Italy, and especially of Emilia, during that epoch of the Renaissance; and even among such compeers as Mantegna, Costa, Dosso Dossi, Francia, or Garofalo, in many ways—in his industry, his science, his intense feeling for beauty of form and colour—to set him as the very greatest of them all.

CHAPTER III

CORREGGIO'S LIFE

CORREGGIO'S birth has been fixed by a general consensus of opinion, and by documentary evidence, in the year 1494; and his family were in the position of peasants, who, in the course of a few generations, had acquired some private means and become themselves land-owners to a small extent.

Our artist's father was named Pellegrino Allegri (*de Allegris, alias dicto Doman*), and he himself was named Antonio after his grandfather. The family may have come originally from Campagnola, and a certain *Cristoforus quondam Jacobi de Alegris de Corigio* appears in the register of strangers at Bologna in 1476; but it seems certain that at the time of Antonio's birth Pellegrino was comfortably established in their home at Correggio, doing business apparently as a victualler, and having landed property, which, in 1534, had swelled to about 120 Reggian acres, scattered over the adjoining district.

The house in which Antonio was born was in the Borgo Vecchio of Correggio, the quarter of the town wherein the fugitives from Campagnola were permitted to settle, after the destruction of their own fortified village in the wars of the Visconti. And here in his bedroom "*ad terrenum*," where he worked and slept,

his first great work, the "Madonna di S. Francesco," was arranged for, and probably entirely painted.

Antonio's mother was one Bernardina Piazzola of the Aromani family, who had brought her husband a dowry of 100 lire at the time of their union. In 1516 Pellegrino Allegri seems to have purchased a clothier's business, besides for nine years farming two estates with one Vincenzo Mariani of S. Martino, to whom, in 1519, he married his daughter Catarina, presenting her afterwards, in June 1521, with a marriage portion of 100 golden scudi.

In all this evidence of record we seem to see the character moving before us of a prosperous and energetic business man, who perhaps had ambitious designs for his son—for he is said to have destined him to the learned professions (*delle lettere*).

There was one of his family, his own uncle, one Master Lorenzo, who already practised painting; and it is reasonable to suppose that Antonio's first efforts might have been directed by him; at least (as I have said elsewhere), in favour of this view, we may quote Tiraboschi's very sensible conclusion: "Now, since he had an uncle who was a painter, though, perhaps, a mediocre one, is it not probable that he learnt the elements of his art from him?"

But the evidence as to this Lorenzo's share in our artist's training does not amount to any certain proof. We tread a firmer ground when we come to his first important commission, the "Madonna of S. Francis," the documents relating to which have been found among the archives of Correggio.

In one of these a certain Quirino Zuccardi is stated

to bequeath a house to the convent of the Minor Brethren of S. Francis, on condition that they should have an altar-piece painted for the adjoining church. The monks, however, made over the house to Zuccardi's heir, Niccoli Selli of Parma, citizen of Correggio, receiving from him a sum of ninety-five ducats and sixty-four soldi to be paid to their bursar, and spent on the proposed picture. The artist selected for the work was the young Allegri, and the agreement was entered into with him on the 30th August 1514 (his father's consent being required, as he was still a minor) to pay him one hundred ducats, half to be paid at once, the remainder after the completion of the picture.

The other documents refer, in one case (date October 4th, 1514) to a panel, to be prepared by one Pietro Landini for the painting, within one month ; in the other case (ledger of the convent, date April 4, 1515) an entry notifying that the second half of the hundred ducats had been paid over to the artist. From October to April is just six months, and, hence, we may conclude that this first great work was painted by the young artist within less than the six months. It is obvious that other works must have been painted before he could have received such an important commission. I will only note that Ricci mentions especially the "S. Martha" of the Misericordia as having (in his verdict) led directly to the Franciscan commission. The "Madonna of S. Francis" is, however, a landmark, fully attested, as we have seen, by documents, and pointing the epoch of the first definite recognition of Antonio Allegri's talent ; a point of departure, therefore, in his life fully as impor-

tant as that afforded by his subsequent migration to Parma.

At the beginning of 1518, he is said to have painted an altar-piece for the parish church of Albinea, in the Reggian district, a work which has entirely disappeared since the seventeenth century, even the subject, "Madonna and Child between SS. Lucy and Magdalen," having been disputed by later writers.

The recent discovery of a letter in the Reggian archives shows the date (May 1517), when the picture was probably begun, and it was painted apparently in Correggio itself, the letter alluding vaguely also to some picture of the Magdalen. The picture was finished and fully paid for by 1519, and remained in the church till 1647, when it was violently taken away by the representatives of the commune, and given to Duke Francesco I., who seemed to have expressed a desire for it. This action was, in the opinion of the poor priest of Albinea, no less than robbery of his church, and he expressed his opinion of the Duke's conduct in such terms as resulted in seven months' imprisonment for him at Reggio; while the painting was carried off to Modena, and a wretched copy, supplied by a certain Jean Boulanger, was installed in its place. But the matter was not to end here, and was, with admirable pertinacity, prolonged by every successive priest of Albinea for nearly (1647-1741) an entire century.

It needed nothing less than a French Revolution to finish this long controversy; but here I would point out that instead, as Meyer remarked, of there being no copies existing, there is the original copy by Boulanger still in the Church,—a florid, feeble work,

but of great value as evidence; there is the copy of the Capitoline Gallery (Rome), and the one of the Brera Gallery (Milan). In the latter the signature has been reproduced, "*Antonius Laetus faciebat*," though it must, by no means be held to be the original.

We turn now to Correggio's life as recorded at this period (1514-18), and find (Records of S. Quirino) him first acting as godfather to Antonio of the House of Vigarini. Again (Oct. 4, 1516) he stands godfather to Anastasia Elisabetta Toraglielo. Later on (July 1517) we find him as witness at the reading of the will of Giovanna da Montecorvino. His name occurs in a document of January 1518; and again (March 17, 1518) he stands as godfather to Rosa Bertoni. These dates are important, because they seem to show that, with the exception of perhaps a short visit to Albinea, the period between the first commission of the "Madonna of S. Francis" (1514) and the first visit to Parma (1518) was spent by Correggio in his native place, occupied, we may be sure, in busy work with which he built up his later style.

This is very important to us in more ways than one: first, because it obliges us to fix the highly probable visit to Mantua before 1514 — that is, as I have argued from other evidence, between 1511 and 1513; and next, because this period of building up, of development of style and individuality, is just what is of the greatest interest, and also of the greatest difficulty and delicacy of critical judgment in determining works which belong to this transition period. Ricci's remarks at this point are so excellent that I cannot forbear one extract.

"In the life of every man there is a transition period, a terrible interlude of depression and unrest from which there is no escape. He enters upon it when he ceases to be a boy, but is hardly as yet a man. . . . Now, this strange phase of transition in the physical and moral being has its spiritual counterpart in the aesthetic development of a great artist. It corresponds to that painful period when, from imitation, he passes to individual mastery. The workings of this transition betray themselves in Correggio's *œuvre* between 1515 and 1518—that is to say, between the painting of the 'Madonna of San Francesco' and the frescoes in the Camera di San Paolo, the period in which he produced the least memorable of his works. He was gradually discarding the strong and vigorous colour, the simplicity of arrangement, the sobriety of drapery, all the characteristics, in short, of the masters he had admired and studied, for more personal methods of expression. But these were not to be won in a moment."

Correggio's visit to Parma, I shall locate, following Meyer, Ricci, and the best authorities, in 1518. We have seen that he was godfather to Rosa Bertoni in March of 1518; we know, too, that he was at Correggio again in 1519 (January 18), when he was acting as witness to a deed of settlement by which a dowry was conveyed to his maternal uncle Francesco Aromani: and we may therefore conclude, with Padre Affo, that the frescoes of the convent of S. Paolo were painted in 1518, between April and December.

Was he directly summoned to Parma, or did his first great decorative commission come to him when already settled there?

This remains uncertain, but I am inclined to take the former view.

A change had taken place (1507) in the headship of the convent of S. Paolo at Parma, and Donna Giovanna Piacenza, daughter of a Parmese nobleman, had become Abbess on the death of her aunt, Orsina Bergonzi. The change had extended to the management of the whole affairs of the convent; for Donna Giovanna had placed the administration of her new possession in the hands of a kinsman, the Cavaliere Scipione Montino della Rosa, thereby giving mortal offence to the Garimberti family, who had held hitherto what was without doubt a very lucrative office.

Encounters with the sword had followed, in which a Garimberti was slain at Scipione's hands; but what concerns us more here is the fact, proved by records, that friendly relations existed at that time between the Montino family and the House of Correggio. We learn from Pungileoni that in 1502 Niccolo Da Correggio appointed Bartolommeo Montino to a vacant post, and that he was acting as a witness for the Corregeschi at Parma.

Everything here points to the conclusion that Correggio's talents had already become known to some extent in Parma, through the numerous relations of the two towns; and that the invitation came to him from the Abbess Giovanna in the spring of 1518. It came probably just at the moment when it was of most service, when, by these years of quiet labour since his first great commission, the artist had prepared himself, developed and formed his style, and now felt the need of a wider life, a wider theatre for his talents.

Alinari photo] [*Convent of S. Paolo, Parma*

FOUR LUNETTES AND ROUNDELS OF CHILDREN

"We can picture to ourselves," says Ricci, "the arrival of Correggio, a young man of barely twenty-four, at Parma; his entry into the convent; his colloquy with the Abbess. She explains that she does not want decoration of a severely devotional character. Age and infirmities are creeping upon her, and she wishes the evils of these last years to be mitigated as far as possible. Let her see a troop of merry children smiling at her through the woven trellis of her bower! Show her the jocund huntress Diana, and Apollo, Minerva, and the Graces!"

For the Abbess Giovanna seems to have represented in her convent, with the evident support of her nuns, the spirit of resistance to ecclesiastical authority, to a too severe asceticism of life, and was perhaps willing that in this work of the young artist this view of life should find expression.

Her motto, *Omnia virtuti pervia*, may have been set up there as a protest against the proposed exclusion of strangers from the convent. But in her struggle for liberty she was at length beaten by a force greater than herself, by the revived asceticism of the counter-Reformation; and she died a few days after the date (August 28, 1524) in which the strict claustration in future of her nuns was proclaimed. For Correggio himself these frescoes had already done their work; they had assured his fame and his position as a "*frescante*." It is these frescoes which I consider as having led to his great commission for the Benedictines of Parma, and not, as Tiraboschi thought, an earlier and direct invitation from that brotherhood.

In 1519 (January 18) we have seen that the artist was

back at Correggio, having then, as I conclude, already completed his work for the convent of S. Paolo at Parma. He is engaged as witness in a deed of settlement of his uncle Aromani, and a fortnight later receives from him a gift of property. In September he is present at the drawing up of two deeds, and in October of the same year (1519) gives his receipt at Correggio for all charges in connection with his altar-piece at Albinea.

In the spring, therefore, of 1520, the artist probably returned to Parma; and at this time, or soon after, there must have taken place an important event in his life — namely, his marriage with Girolama Merlini, daughter of Bartolomeo Merlini de Braghetis, the arm-bearer of the Marquis of Mantua.

Girolama was born in 1503, March 29 being the date of her baptism, and she was therefore barely seventeen when she married; she brought her husband some fortune, a dowry, namely, of 251 ducats, which was assigned to her, as his wife, on July 26, 1521,—their eldest child, Pomponio, being born September 3, 1521, which enables us to approximate their marriage to the year 1520.

His sister Caterina was married about this same time to Vincenzo Mariani—with whom, it will be remembered, her father had a business connection—her dowry being settled June 26, 1521. Thus the two marriages must have been about the same period; and in connection with this sister may be noticed Correggio's marked preference for the legend of S. Catherine in his religious paintings.

An inheritance at the time by which his uncle

Francesco Aromani, who died on May 4, 1519, bequeathed a house in the Borgo Vecchio, and several acres of land, "to his excellent nephew in consideration of some important services which he had rendered," did not benefit Antonio immediately, since the legacy was disputed by the Aromani family; and the matter was not settled till Manfredo, Lord of Correggio, intervened to end it in 1528.

But to return to Parma. In the year 1520 the Benedictines of Parma had completed their new and splendid church of S. Giovanni Evangelista. The building operations were finished in 1519, and Bernardino da Torchiara was already busy on the plaster of the walls and cupola; it is on the 6th of July in this year that we find in the monastery account-books the first payment entered to Correggio, a sum of thirty ducats being then handed to him as "the first payment for the painting of the cupola." The Benedictines, attracted, no doubt, by the fame of the frescoes of S. Paolo, had offered Antonio Allegri this important commission; from subsequent entries we gather that they had agreed to give him in all one hundred and thirty ducats for this part of the work, and for the further decorating the tribune of the apse, painting the frieze around the body of the church, gilding the frieze and cornices, and ornamenting the pillars, other sums which would bring up their total sum expended to 262 ducats.

The entries of payments made follow on the dates of April, May, and July, 1521, others in 1522, January, March, and June, 1523, and finally (Jan. 23, 1524) we have the formal receipt of the artist.

"I, Antonio Lieto of Correggio, painter . . . am hereby fully paid and recompensed for my paintings in the said church (of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma), and I therefore declare myself to be contented and satisfied and paid in full."

This work in the church of S. Giovanni, which is described later in detail, comprised the frescoes in the cupola, in the tribune of the church, and the seated figure of S. John in the lunette, as well as a fresco ("S. Benedict in Glory"), which has entirely disappeared. And during the period in which he was engaged on the above works, during this autumn of 1522, the commission was offered him of the decorations within the cathedral of Parma, and the bargain practically concluded, though it could not for some time be carried out. Correggio was now in a position to ask much higher terms for his new commission, probably 1200 ducats, though on the demur of the chapter it was reduced to 1000, and 100 for the materials beside. It was no doubt the prospect of extended work and a long sojourn in Parma which induced him to bring his young wife and little child there: for the political conditions in Parma had lately been very unsettled, and in this year of 1521, he must have been in Correggio, or have made more than one journey between that city and Parma. The two altar-pieces painted for the Benedictine Don Placido del Bono, the confessor of Paul III., one of them a "Pietà," the other a scene of Martyrdom (that of SS. Placidus and Flavia), belong both of them to this period of work in S. Giovanni, and were intended for a chapel in that Benedictine church; and at the same time or, slightly later, were

Alinari photo] [*S. John the Evangelist, Parma*

LUNETTE OF S. JOHN THE EVANGELIST

painted the frescoes ("Annunciation" and "Madonna della Scala") now in the Parma Gallery. We come next to the great work of the Parma Cathedral, which was begun actually in 1526, the first payment, of 189 ducats, being made early in the year. In September of the same year the remainder of the first quarter was paid to Allegri; and in November of 1530 the second quarter of the whole amount, 275 ducats, was handed over to the artist. That there had been some disagreement between the chapter of the cathedral and their chosen artist seems almost certain; for at this point he voluntarily left the work unfinished, and returned soon after to Correggio.

That contemptuous remarks had been made of his work we may judge from tradition,—the "hash of frogs," to which some workman or witty canon compared his figures in the cupola, serving as an example; otherwise it would be difficult to account for Allegri's action, for it was by no means in accord with his character, as shown elsewhere, to leave any work unfinished to which once he had put his hand.

Perhaps his wife's death at this time may have saddened and depressed him, and made him gladly seek a more retired life, free from the ennuis and criticisms which had beset him at Parma. She had come to live with him at Parma; it was there, probably, that their children, at least the three girls, were born; and as her signature appears to documents in 1528, she must have died between that date and 1530, when Allegri himself returned with his four children to Correggio, perhaps to occupy the house which had been left him by his uncle in the Borgo Vecchio.

During the period in which he had been working in the church of S. Giovanni and the cathedral a whole series of altar-pieces had left his hands: in 1520-24 the "Ecce Homo," and the "Christ in the Garden," and the "Marriage of S. Catherine," of the Louvre collection; in 1525-6 the "Madonna with S. Sebastian," of the Dresden Gallery; and then those four famous masterpieces of his ripest art, "The Madonna with S. Jerome" (1527-8) and the "Madonna della Scodella" (1529-30), both in the Parma Gallery, and the "Nativity" or "*La Notte*" (1529-30), and the "Madonna with S. George," (1530-31, his last altar-piece), both in the Dresden collection. His first act at Correggio is to invest the money he had received for his work in the cathedral of Parma in the purchase of a piece of land. This looks as if he had resolved now to settle for the future in his native town. The land in question was bought from the widow of one Giovanni Cattanio, of Correggio, and Allegri paid for it the sum of 195 scudi and 10 soldi. This deed of purchase from Lucrezia Pusterla (Cattanio's widow) was signed on November 30, 1530. In the autumn of 1532, and early in 1533, he appears as witness to several legal documents, and on January 24th of 1534 he witnessed the marriage settlement of Chiara da Correggio, who was to be married to a son of Veronica Gambara.

Thus he had spent three years in his home, he had now secured a competence; and this private means, modest though it was, he evidently intended to use in the most sensible way, by improving his position in his native town, and following out those subjects in art which appealed to his own taste and wishes.

This was evidently the case with the classical subjects on which he was now engaged for Duke Federigo Gonzaga of Mantua; this, indeed, is quite in accord, also, with what we know of his character. He was a man of retiring and quiet disposition, modest as to his great talent, deficient, probably, in that quality of "pushfulness" which is so highly prized in modern England: for Vasari, visiting Parma not so very long after Allegri's death, could collect but very few details as to the latter's life, and fills up his record with laments and pity for his absence from Court life and Roman splendours,—though he was probably far happier and better thus at home with his children around him in his little native village. Even here the terrible condition of Italy, the troubles of war and foreign politics, must have come to mar his happiness. In June of 1531 the Spanish army, commanded by the Marchese del Vasto, arrived within sight of Modena, and the general announced his intention of quartering his troops in Correggio and the neighbouring towns. This army, consisting of fifteen thousand soldiers, accompanied by some two thousand women of low class, and camp followers, settled like a swarm of locusts upon the territory of the Corregeschi; bread soon began to fail, the soldiers were accustomed to outrage, plunder, and every licence; and, as a plague of some sort was frequently the sequel of these visitations in Italy, this may not improbably have been the cause of Correggio's early death.

Another political event which possibly affected our artist was the visit of the Emperor Charles V., now the master who had Italy at his feet, to Veronica

Gambara, on July 9, 1532. Such a visit was an expensive honour to a small princely house like this of the Corregeschi; but it seems not improbable that Veronica Gambara may have mentioned to the Emperor the talents of the artist whom she knew and esteemed, and possibly, too, had given a hint to the Duke of Mantua that a present of the artist's pictures would be not unacceptable to her Imperial guest. At any rate, we have Vasari's statement as evidence that Duke Federigo commissioned certain pictures from Allegri to send to the Emperor, though he confuses the names and subjects of the works in question, which undoubtedly refer to the "Leda," "Io," and "Danaë."

These, then, we may take as the last authentic works by Correggio's hand; and soon after this, in the first spring days of 1534, he passes away from our study, and the busy brush is at work no more.

What would have been his further development in art is an interesting but an almost boundless inquiry; it is at least likely that, since he was devoting himself to mythological subjects, he would have continued for a time to work out a field of subject which attracted him as this surely did: then, as the troubles, whatever they were, of his Parma commission grew fainter in his memory, he might have returned to religious subjects, to those altar-pieces for which there was such a constant demand, or even to take up again his unfinished work in the Parma Duomo; or yet again, he might have been at last tempted to leave the seclusion of his beloved town of Correggio for Rome, for Mantua, or some other of the great political centres.

What is certain is that, in his early death at the age of his ripest life and experience, Italian art suffered an irreparable loss: yet for this at least we may be grateful, that in his short, busy, laborious life he expressed in no faltering utterance his message in art, and in that short working space of some twenty or twenty-five well-filled years had given to the world works which have made his name immortal in the record of Italian art. Here we may repeat those noble words which the great Leonardo wrote within his note-book: "A life well spent is long."

CHAPTER IV

EARLY WORKS AT CORREGGIO

THE first painting by Antonio Allegri of which we have any authentic record, with well-established date and full documentary evidence, is the famous "Madonna of S. Francis," of the Dresden Gallery. This belongs to the date of 1515; but it must be remembered that, thanks to the exertions of recent criticism, and of the late Sig. Morelli especially, it has been possible to trace a certain number of works of the master even before the above date. It will, however, suit our purpose best here to take first this "Madonna of S. Francis" as in some measure a test work, which it will be an advantage to us to have studied before we turn back from it to these earlier works of less proved authenticity.

The whole history of this "Madonna of S. Francis" lies before us with exceptional fulness. A certain Quirino Zuccardi, in his will (of the date of July 4, 1494), had bequeathed a house to the monastery of the Franciscan Minorites at Correggio, but the legacy was expressly directed to cover the expense of a painting for the high altar of the church.

And on August 30th, of 1514, Catanei, Antonio Zuccardi, the syndic of the monastery, and a notary, called upon the young Allegri at his home in Correggio

Tamme photo] [*Dresden Gallery*

THE MADONNA OF S. FRANCIS

(he was then just touching his twentieth year), and offered to him the commission for the painting. The commission was an important one, and was, in fact, a stepping-stone to future fame, a hundred ducats being offered as the price of the altar-piece—fifty to be paid down on account, the rest to be made up on the work's completion.

Everything here is carefully stipulated for, just as we find in the earlier records of religious works; even the panel on which the work is to be painted is the subject of a separate deed with Maestro Landini (October 4). In March of 1515 there are payments to one Ferrari for irons for the frame and gold for the altar-piece; and on April 4 Allegri himself receives his last payment in presence of the syndic, the vicar, and other dignitaries and monks connected with this order of the Franciscans.

He had arranged to have his cartoon ready so as to begin the picture in November (1514), and he received his last payment for the completed work in April (1515); the whole painting falling, therefore, within those five winter months. And now, before we examine its future history, let us turn to the painting itself, where it hangs now as one of the treasures of the Dresden collection, and see what is the message of Allegri's art which this first authentic work has to give us.

Its subject is the familiar one in Italian art, of Madonna enthroned with the Child on her lap, with angels around her, and saints waiting in service beside her throne; and as the saints will, here as elsewhere, have especial connection with the donor's patronage, we shall not be surprised to find among them, on

the Virgin's right, the place of honour, the two Saints of the Franciscan order, S. Francis of Assisi, and S. Anthony of Padua, with his book and lily; and, to balance them, on the other side, the familiar forms of S. John Baptist and S. Catherine, with the wheel and palm-branch of her martyrdom.

There is the immense advantage,—as Mr. Grant Allen once pointed out,—to the critic of Italian painting, that painter after painter, from one to another generation, working always on the same accepted themes, following always the same accepted treatment, yet introduces most often some slight variation which is the expression of his own individuality in religious art; and thus here we have to study what is the school to which the composition and the general treatment belong, and then to trace what variations, what shadows of outside influence, the painter's temperament has introduced.

First, then, the general treatment belongs to the art of the Ferrarese, and is to be compared, from this point of view, with the "Madonna and Saints," of the Louvre, by Francesco Bianchi, called Il Frarré (the Ferrarese), under whom Morelli considers that Allegri may have studied as early as 1507; and, indeed, the treatment of the throne, with its medallion whereon the law-giver Moses is depicted, and its open view behind of a landscape, is quite Ferrarese in character.

But looking further into the picture, we see now the influence of the great master of Mantua, whom Correggio had almost certainly studied in his early youth. Just as the famous "Madonna of the Victory" (then at Mantua, now at Paris) bends forward to the kneeling Gonzaga, so does here Allegri's Virgin stoop with

Neurdein frères photo] [*Louvre, Paris*

MADONNA, WITH SS. BENEDICT AND QUENTIN
(*By Francesco Bianchi*)

protecting gesture, and extended right hand, towards the half-kneeling S. Francis.

The similarity of the two figures is striking, the pose almost identical, in the body, the head, the lower limbs and feet, and the left hand, which supports the Child Christ,—though here he sits, while in Mantegna's work he stands. Henry Thode has good reason to remark: "How wonderfully are the influences of Mantegna and Leonardo worked out in this painting to a new and individual character (*zu einem ganz persönlichen Neuen*)! Yet lived the 'Madonna of the Victory' in Correggio's imagination; even so does the Virgin extend her hand, and bend slightly her head; and Leonardo's 'Vierge aux Rochers,' too, has this same gesture."

What is new, what is individual to the artist, is the tenderness, the warm, glowing sentiment,—so distinct from Mantegna's severe dignity, from Leonardo's subtlety,—of the whole composition. "A work," cries the author I have just quoted, "created out of the spirit of childlike Love, as if itself had streamed forth from the being of that Saint, to whom it was dedicated."

Here, then, we gain in this beautiful work—the first fruits, we might almost say, of his artistic consciousness—a hint which may be of real service to us in the difficult analysis of these earlier disputed works; the influence, appearing definitely, of the Ferrarese, of Mantegna, even of Leonardo, but tinged, modified, and moulded already by Allegri's grace and joyous sense of life.

Even a trace of Francia, whom I place in my Renaissance series with the Ferrarese, appears in the Virgin's oval face; but Meyer remarks, with justice: "To appreciate Correggio's originality at this early age,

we need but compare his picture with the 'Marriage of the Virgin' (in the Brera), painted by Raphael when he was somewhat older; for here Perugino's influence almost effaces the painter's own individuality."

The picture remained at Correggio undisturbed until the year 1638, when, to the great indignation of the people, who seem to have prized their masterpiece, and who almost rose in revolt to protect it, it was annexed by the Duke of Modena, a wretched copy by a Frenchman, Boulanger, being substituted for it. It remained in the Estense collection for nearly a century, and passed thence into the hands of Augustus, Elector of Saxony, reaching Dresden in the year 1746, with other works from the same collection.

But to turn back to these earlier works of Allegri, towards which this acknowledged masterpiece will be our guide, and of which we may consider it as the result. First probably in date of these, though not, I should consider, in interest, is Dr. Frizzoni's panel at Milan of the "Marriage of S. Catherine."

This painting was formerly in the Costabili Gallery at Ferrara, and represents the Virgin seated on the lap of S. Anne, while the little Christ bends forward to take the hand of the kneeling S. Catherine, and on the side of the throne are SS. Francis and Dominic. It is one of the paintings in which Morelli traces Allegri's Ferrarese training: "The modelling of the hands," he says, "is that of Costa; the vivacity of the colours recalls Mazzolino; but in the expression and attitude of S. Francis the future Correggio stands revealed." Lorenzo Costa, it will be remembered, was the fellow-worker of Francia at Bologna, a main link in the chain

that unites the schools of Ferrara and Bologna. Mazzolino (1481-1530), the painter of small, minutely-finished pictures, was called by this same Morelli "the glow-worm," from his brilliant, gem-like colour, and there is much, to my mind, that bears witness of him in this little damaged picture; but the throne here is to be noticed, with its medallion beneath, like that of the later "Madonna of S. Francis," save that here "Abraham's Sacrifice" is represented, with its wreathing of fruit and leaves at the back, which, like the S. Catherine's drapery, recall the tradition of Mantegna. To the same period (about 1512-14) belongs a far more attractive work, that charming "Nativity," which is in the collection at Milan of Cav. Benigno Crespi, and shows the Virgin adoring the little sleeping Christ, with S. Anne and S. Joseph beside her, a group of shepherds in the background, and in the sky above, a descending swarm of winged angels.

Not only does the picture deserve comparison in its treatment with more than one of Correggio's later works—with the Uffizi "Madonna," for instance, and the more famous Dresden "Nativity," called "La Notte," —but it points back, as well as forward, to the Mantegnesque elements in Correggio's early training.

Thus the peculiarities which we have noticed as appearing in the well-authenticated "Madonna of S. Francis," the blended influences—more direct perhaps in the former case—of Mantegna and the Ferrarese reappear throughout this early work, in this charming "Nativity," of Sig. Crespi, far exceeding in beauty and delicacy the "Nativity," which has been lately added to the Sposalizio room of the Brera. The same may be

seen in the "Virgin and Child with S. Elizabeth and S. John," of the Sigmaringen collection, where the type of the S. Elizabeth, taken from Mantegna's painting of S. Andrea, and the background of clustered leaves appears marked most strongly; as well as in other paintings.

I pass by the Bolognini "Madonna" (Museo Municipale at Milan), the Malaspina "Madonna" (Museo Comunale at Pavia), the Campori "Madonna" (Estense Gallery at Modena), to come to a little gem of Allegri's early art, in which we shall be able to trace the same influences—I mean the panel of "Madonna and the Child, with Angels," in one of the small rooms, near the Tribuna, of the Uffizi collection.

Most entirely delightful in colour and composition is this little work of the Florence Gallery, a gem of our artist's early genius, which is even fresher, more dainty than his ripe creations. Madonna is seated in the clouds, and holds on her lap the Child, who bends away from her to listen in childish delight to the angel who draws the bow across his violin. As a bud to the opening flower, it has been well said,—"*so gebunden, so einer jungen Knospe gleich geschlossen*," does Correggio's spirit show here. It had been attributed to Mantegna, to the Ferrarese Costa and Francia, even in its brilliant colouring to Titian; it is still attributed to this last in the official catalogue; but Morelli and all later critics agree in considering it as an early and most lovely work of Correggio, in which, however, certain points, the drapery, and, above all, the Christ Child himself — almost identical in pose with the painting referred to already of Sant' Andrea, the Virgin, too,

Alinari photo] [*Uffizi Gallery, Florence*

THE MADONNA AND JESUS, WITH ANGELS

being very similar—recall Mantegna's tradition and influence.

Two very interesting works in English private collections, seem to come in at the close of the early period of 1512-14. The first of these, Mr. R. H. Benson's painting (London) of "Christ taking leave of His Mother before the Passion," is a remarkable painting, as showing characteristics which do not appear in the other early paintings which we have just been studying. Ricci, however, and apparently Morelli too, place it at the same period as the "Nativity," of Sig. Crespi; Richter putting it down to the later date of 1517, that is, two years after the "Madonna of S. Francis." Christ is kneeling with folded arms before his Mother, who falls back, almost swooning, into the arms of the Magdalen; behind them stands the youthful S. John, with bowed head, and a pale light fills the sky and the stretching landscape.

The painting was known of in Tiraboschi's time, and was later in the hands of the Parlatore family of Florence. Most tender in sentiment, the whole conception of this scene of farewell recalls something of Lotto's art in its manner; but, as Ricci has said, if the pictorial elements are Ferrarese, the soul that animates this conception is the soul of Correggio. With this may be noticed, too, the altar-piece of Lord Ashburton's collection, showing four saints, two men and two women—namely, SS. Martha, Mary Magdalen, Peter, and Leonard.

Here, again, we have a difference of critical opinion; for Meyer and other biographers assign it to the year

1518, while Morelli, followed by Ricci, places it among the works dating from 1515, the year of the "Virgin of S. Francis." It would seem that a certain Melchior Fassi had in 1517 bequeathed his estate to the church of S. Quirino at Correggio, on condition that a chapel should be built and provided with an altar-piece representing the four saints above-mentioned.

But the fact that the chapel in question seems to have been never built, and that Fassi in disgust at last altered his will, leaving his property instead to S. Maria della Misericordia, throws doubt on the suggestion that Lord Ashburton's picture was the one then commissioned; it is suggested rather that it might have been an earlier painting of these saints, commissioned by Fassi from Correggio, and placed already before 1517 in the church of the Misericordia. The artistic treatment seems, in fact, to belong to an earlier period than the free method shown in such works as the "Repose in Egypt," or the "Zingarella." The four saints stand side by side, each with his or her appropriate emblem, S. Peter with his keys, S. Mary with her jar of ointment, S. Martha with a sort of winged basilisk led by a string, at which S. Peter looks with not unnatural interest, if not anxiety; and the whole conception seems rather stiff and formal in comparison with the freedom of Allegri's genius.

We turn now to the later commissions of his first period at Correggio. What is entirely delightful in the earlier work which we have traced here up to 1515, apart from the interest in its evidence as to his early training, is the innate feeling for tenderness and grace, shown, above all, in the children, more roguish, more dimpled,

Alinari photo] [*Uffizi Gallery, Florence*

THE REPOSE ON THE JOURNEY TO EGYPT

more entirely infantine, than those of Mantegna or his Ferrarese predecessors.

The period of Allegri's art which we shall now consider is that which intervenes between his first known commission, for the "Madonna of S. Francis" (1515), and his next great commission for fresco work in the Camera di S. Paolo at Parma (1518). It is an interlude, a transition period in his life, in which he is developing, almost painfully sometimes, the individual qualities of his art, discarding those among his teachers' methods which were at variance with himself, striving after a more personal expression. Yet it is to this very period of tentative effort that we owe some of his delightful work, notably the "Repose in Egypt," of the Uffizi Tribuna, the "Zingarella," of the Naples Museum, the "Madonna with S. James," of the Hampton Court collection. Not that the Uffizi painting just mentioned can be considered as an entirely successful work. The Madonna is seated here, with the naked Child standing upon her knee, while S. Joseph bends down the branch of a date-palm; in the corner of the painting, on the left, S. Francis of Assisi kneels in adoration.

The subject is from a legend of the apocryphal gospels which was treated again by Allegri, with his maturer talent, in the famous "Madonna della Scodella," of the Parma Gallery, and here the drapery and the colour especially had caused it at one time to be considered as a copy; but it will be more correct, and in this opinion Frizzoni, Morelli, and Ricci concur, to consider it a work of just this transition period, — its faults due to that very cause, and its

date (say 1515-17) similar to that of the Naples "Zingarella."

For just the same qualities of colour and treatment appear in the charming "Madonna with the Rabbit," or "La Zingarella" (the gipsy girl), as she has been named by the southern Italians; she sits in a wood, a turban wound round her hair, bending over the sleeping child; an angel here bends towards her the palm branch; at the side a little rabbit peers timidly at the group of the young girl and her Babe.

This picture was long in the possession of the Farnese family. It was left by Ranuccio Farnese in his will of July 23, 1607, to his sister Margherita, a nun of the convent of S. Paolo at Parma, but returned to the family on her death. In 1734 it was removed to Naples with their collection, so that its history is fairly complete. Not one of the greatest, certainly, of Allegri's pictures, and belonging in its technique to this transition period, I still consider it one of the most charming.

With the "Madonna with the SS. James and Joseph," of Hampton Court, may be compared the "Virgin with the Two Children," of the Prado Gallery at Madrid. In both the attitude of the Virgin is similar, the type of the little Jesus almost identical, and we may classify both these works as belonging to this same period (1515-17). Far the most charming in ideal beauty is the Hampton Court "Madonna." She is of the type which we find also in the "Virgin" of Prince Hohenzollern's collection at Sigmaringen, that lovely pensive blonde from which the master developed later his matronly "Virgin with S. George," or the exquisite

Alinari photo] [*Parma Gallery*

THE MADONNA DELLA SCODELLA

Alinari photo] [*Parma Gallery*

THE MADONNA DELLA SCODELLA
(DETAIL)

grace of the Magdalen in the "Giorno," of Parma Gallery. In the Madrid picture the type is less refined, almost more plebeian; but how delightful is the protecting gesture with which she draws the two naked babies into her lap, uniting them both, her own divine Child and the little S. John, in the same embrace of motherly tenderness. This is part of Correggio's charm: he is always entirely natural, human, spontaneous in his feeling; if he does not tread the clouds of spiritual ecstasy, he walks with assured feet on earth, and feels what is simplest, most tender, and sweet in human sentiment.

And the same pose of the Virgin's head and body, the same gesture of protecting sympathy toward the two children, only that the S. John is seated here instead of standing, reappears in the "Madonna," of Frankfurt-on-the-Main, which was discovered at Milan by Dr. Henry Thode. He believes it to be the same as the lost Casalmaggiore "Madonna," which was in the Modena collection of 1646. It had been taken away from Casalmaggiore by Francesco I. only a few years after the Duke of Modena had robbed the town of Correggio of the "Virgin of S. Francis," had wandered to France and England, and is said to have returned again to Italy.

This brings us to the subject of lost pictures of Correggio, some of which seem to belong to this very period, one being a "Herodias with the Head of S. John," a favourite subject with Luini and the Lombards; but a more important work was the triptych, which once occupied the high altar of S. Maria della Misericordia at Correggio. The central panel of this seems to have represented Christ the Redeemer,

the right wing S. Bartholomew, and the left wing S. John Baptist. In 1612 Don Siro, the last prince of Correggio, wished to obtain the picture, had it properly valued (at one hundred great ducats of eight lire each), and, with the sanction of the Bishop "by ordinance" from Rome, it passed in 1613 from the Brotherhood of the Misericordia into his possession. Later he lost his dominion, which was conferred on Francesco I. of Modena (mentioned above), and having entrusted his pictures during his troubles to a friend, the Lord of Novellara (1635), he seems to have lost them too.

The triptych from this time disappears altogether; but at the Vatican Gallery this year I was able to study the so-called "Umanità di Cristo," which, after comparing it also with the Caracci copies at Parma, I take to be very probably a copy by Annibale Caracci of the central panel of the lost triptych. The subject, I noted, is Christ seated on the clouds, a half-draped figure with loose drapery from the waist downwards, with arms extended, and beneath whom boy angels, in the manner of the Parma frescoes, sport amid the clouds, or under the folds of his drapery. A noble figure this, full of dignity and beauty, and worthy of the master's inspiration. It seems to have come into the Vatican collection in this century, having been bought by Count Marescalchi, a minister of Napoleon I., from Armano, a picture-dealer, and having reached the Vatican itself in 1832.

Another work—a "S. John Baptist," bought by one Panelli, at Novellara, in 1797—we may dismiss with the remark that its only possible connection with

the original could be that of a very indifferent and badly-drawn copy. But a great loss for Italian art is that of the Albinea "Madonna," which we know to have been painted for the church of Albinea, near Reggio, at the very period we are now discussing—*viz.* 1517-18. Some part of the correspondence on the subject (dated May 12, 1517) has been lately discovered in the Reggian archives; and the last payment to Correggio for the completed picture seems to have been made by the priest, and a full receipt given, on October 14, 1519.

This was another case of ducal spoliation by our worthy friend Francesco I., who seems to have devoted his energies to appropriating Allegri's masterpieces: only here he made a feeble pretence of payment for his seizure, by forgoing a claim (which he probably was aware he could never recover) of 7494 Modenese lire from the poor commune of Albinea. The priest of the church, as owning the picture, then sued the commune for this money, which it was quite unable to pay: and the quarrel, which Francesco I. had thus started, went on for generations, till at last the commune of Albinea is excommunicated, and (as late as 1741) is receiving most terrible denunciations from Rome.

Sig. Ricci, with great care and clearness, has traced the successive steps of the controversy, has shown how the priest of Albinea, then the Bishop of Reggio, finally the Papal Chancery itself, worried the commune of Albinea for this money, together with the unpaid interest, which, added to the principal, amounted in 1741 to 15,827 Modenese lire; how, for years the wretched inhabitants of Albinea lived in consequence

in a state of formal ex-communication, and were then told that "no laws can annul the rights of the poor church, betrayed and assassinated by her own children."

Only the rumble of the coming French Revolution in the air makes the wrangle at last forgotten; but what is more important to us here is the subject of the lost picture, which seems to have been "Madonna with the Child between SS. Lucy and Mary Magdalen." An almost ruined copy of this subject by Boulanger, the Duke's artistic hack, whose duty seems to have been to supply replicas of the pictures His Grace intended to steal, remains still in the Albinea church, and shows the figures I have mentioned. Madonna is seated beneath a tree with the little Jesus; on her right kneels the Magdalen, and S. Lucy with the palm-branch stands on the left. Two other missing works—"Magdalen," painted by the master for Guidotto di Roncopo, the priest of Albinea; and the "Young Man fleeing from the Captors of Christ," a copy of which is in the Parma Gallery, need only be mentioned briefly.

The original of this last was in the Barberini collection in the seventeenth century, and seems to have gone to England, where it disappears from view; and it has been considered as belonging to this very date which we are now approaching—1518. The Parma copy follows the narrative of S. Mark as to the young man who had followed Christ—"and he left the linen cloth, and fled from them naked"—and has a certain power of drawing and vigour of action; behind, Judas approaches the Saviour. Already in 1518 (as far as we can judge, between April and December) the young artist of Correggio had received his commission, and commenced

Alinari photo] [*Parma Gallery*

THE DEPOSITION FROM THE CROSS

his work upon the frescoes of the convent of S. Paolo. These past years of his earlier life—from the possible visit to Mantua, where we have seen he may have gained his first wider conception of art from Mantegna's inspiration, to the certain visit to Parma, where his ripened genius first showed its mastery in the medium of fresco—show a record of steady, continuous toil, and of steady, but by no means immediate progress. There was no royal road, it would seem, even for Allegri's genius, and he had to learn to climb before he reached the point where now we see him, ready to put forth his acquired strength in a splendid effort.

And if the record of his life seems homely, industrious, almost *bourgeois*, apart from the courtly magnificence of a Leonardo, or the picturesque adventures of a Cellini, that, surely, need not count to his discredit; for the man was the son of a family of quiet, saving, industrious bourgeois, his art was to him a business, to which he devoted his time, energy, and application as well as his genius; and when Fame came suddenly to greet him, to hail him among the great ones of Italian painting, she found, and seems to leave him, as modest, as simple, and contented, as when he signed, in his bedroom at Correggio, the first contract for the "Madonna of S. Francesco."

CHAPTER V

THE CONVENT OF S. PAOLO

WE come now to a very interesting period in Allegri's life ; to what is, in fact, a new point of departure in his artistic development.

For here he first touches, to our certain knowledge, that medium of fresco painting in which so many artists of this epoch of the full Renaissance,—as for example, Luini and Giovan Antonio Bazzi,—seem to find their freest, most spontaneous expression ; and so marked is the change with Allegri, so developed the style which he now shows in his frescoes of S. Paolo, that Dr. Thode, to account for it, assumes a visit to Rome —"as a youth of four-and-twenty, unknown to the Roman art world, who went on his way quietly and was only concerned with his study of the great masters." If we assume this visit (and we must remember that it is a pure assumption) the most likely date we can fix would then be 1517, the year previous to his Parma frescoes ; against this theory we have the distinct assertions, coupled with a regret in the one case, of both Vasari and Ortensio Landi (1552 this last), that Correggio had died without being able to visit Rome ; in favour of it we have a certain amount of evidence in his works themselves, which we shall be able to go into better when we come to treat of these later frescoes of S. Giovanni

Alinari photo] [*Convent of S. Paolo, Parma*

LUNETTES AND ROUNDELS OF CHILDREN

Evangelista, and to show how far personal inquiries lead me to connect Correggio with Raphael.

To say that Parma possessed no local art before Correggio's advent would be incorrect; but the art which existed there was as a rule from without (Modenese, Cremonese, or even Lombard), and generally also of indifferent quality. And now Correggio is summoned to the city, probably through the influence or suggestion of the Cavaliere Scipione Montino della Rosa, the kinsman and *homme d'affaires* of the Badessa Giovanna. Araldi had been already at work in the inner room before him; and included among my illustrations have been some of the quaint, precisely-drawn scroll and arabesque and figure work of the ceiling of this room, as typical of the decorative style which ruled in Parma before Correggio's advent.

But, with Allegri, a broader breath of inspiration comes to supplant this formal precision of outline; it is the breath of the full Renaissance which reaches him, directly or indirectly, from the great centres of Italian culture, and which is re-created within his own imagination.

The convent of S. Paolo has an individual history, and one which bears directly upon the subject of the frescoes. It had enjoyed a certain freedom, and under the guidance of the Abbess, the Donna Giovanna Piacenza, it was evidently determined to preserve that liberty, that connection with the outer world of society and culture, even at the expense of an occasional brush with the more severe ecclesiastical authorities.

Within such a convent as this, in Italy of the early sixteenth century, filled with beautiful young women

of the noble houses, who had been often placed there for purposes of retreat, there was no such severe asceticism as reappeared in the later Catholic revival. And within such a convent, too, the pictorial decoration would be required to be in some lighter key, in some harmony with the Humanistic movement of the age; the accepted themes from the lives of saints would seem, perhaps, here already slightly *démodés*. In a little room of the Parma Museum I have lately studied the tile-work which once formed the pavement of this very convent,—a work which is itself often of great beauty, of interest always, too, in its hints as to the character of those who trod it.

Most quaintly confused are these designs and emblems; we pass from head of animals, of leopards, stags, etc., and of human beings in curious contemporary headgear, to the most fantastic collection of subjects. Here a knight is tilting, there Charity holds two babies to her breast, or a naked boy (*Amore* must be his name) with spur and whip mounts on horseback. Here, again, a woman unlooses a captive (this occurs more than once), or Paris holds out the apple of beauty before the three naked goddesses of Olympus; or, there is a comic scene, an over-loaded donkey who sits down upon his haunches and brays forth his lament; or there are symbols of mutual love—two hearts transfixed by an arrow within a dish, and often the mottos "Amor Leale," and "Rosa bella," and "Caro il mio tesoro"; or, again, two hands which join, and a heart pierced by darts beneath.

But in the frescoes of the walls and ceiling, now entrusted by the Abbess to the young artist of

Anderson photo] [*Convent of S. Paolo, Parma*

MALE FIGURE SACRIFICING
(In Lunette)

Correggio, some higher symbolism, some more learned and classic note was needed, and found, as I believe, and shall now seek to show, in a very simple but charming allusion. It is over the door of the inner room of these *Camere* (that room which Araldi had decorated) that the arms of the Abbess have been set—three crescent moons with the letters Jo. Pl. (*Giovanna Placentiae*); and herein was found the motive of the decoration.

For the moons suggested to some Humanistic student of Parma, or, perhaps, to Allegri himself, the thought of Diana, the Virgin goddess, vowed, like his kind patroness, to perpetual chastity; and Diana brought with her the rout of merry children, all busy with the burden of the chase—with horns, and bows, and hunting spears, and great dogs, and the trophy of a stag's head—true dimpled, laughing "putti" of Allegri's creation, who are to reappear henceforth in many a painting and religious fresco, who fill here the ovals, beneath the clustering leaves or fruit which are their framing.

Paying a second visit to Parma, I noticed, in examining this ceiling, that the colouring of the children within the roundels is more hard, less vaporous and soft than Correggio's later work, and marks thus an earlier stage in his progress. Most lovely, however, are these children in the trellis work of vine leaves, from which hang great bunches of fruit: loveliest of all amongst them those who uphold a spear, another with a bow, another who uplifts a stag's head, and that dimpled baby who is embracing a great white deerhound.

Beneath these groups of children are the lunettes

filled with symbolic figures, and under these lunettes the decorative work continues, brought together beneath by ram's heads turned outwards, with white bands of linen hung from each, which hold back plates and pitchers, a simple but entirely effective and most suitable decoration for the room, which I imagine to have been a refectory, and used as such by the nuns for meals.

Among the lunettes in chiaroscuro we might pick out the figure of the Earth, with fruit and gathered wheat, the naked Juno hung by the wrists from the roof of heaven, the three Fates spinning, the three Graces, the beautiful nude male figure (perhaps an Adonis), and the Minerva. Then passing to the inner room we find over the door the arms of the abbess; and the ceiling of this room is entirely covered with arabesques by Araldi, treated in the freest mythological spirit, naked Loves, Sphinxes, mermaids, winged horses moving through a maze of arabesque, set within one decorative scheme, in which small panels with pictures are inserted at intervals; while above, through a simulated opening, like that of Mantegna's fresco in the "Camera degli Sposi," little cherubs peep down over a balustrade. It was probably from this same room that the tiles now at the museum were taken. Thus we notice two things here: (1.) That Correggio did but follow out the secular spirit already introduced into the decoration of the convent, which appears most marked in Araldi's frescoes here, even, too, in the designs of the pavement. (2.) That before his painting of the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista, a third-rate, but still clever replica of Mantegna's foreshortening in the "Camera degli Sposi" must have

Anderson photo] [*Convent of S. Paolo, Parma*

CHILDREN IN A ROUNDEL

been well known to him. It is hardly necessary to say that the thread of metaphor which we have traced, slender enough in the Diana in her car, and the "putti" with their hunting implements, fails us altogether before these other figures of the lunettes. Even a German critic might seem staggered before such a confusion of subject; and Dr. Thode asks in vain the reason for the presence of armed Minerva, of the seated Philosopher, of the woman who enters with a child (Vesta with Jupiter? Ino Leucothea with Bacchus?), of the strange punishment of Juno, of the young man with a lance (Adonis?), of the sacrificing "Bonus Eventus," of the Temple of Jupiter, the Ceres, the Satyr with his noisy horn, or Fortune with her cornucopia?

Here we may rather think that in the freedom of decorative chiaroscuro the artist simply followed his fancy, without any connecting thread of symbolic thought. Taking his first idea of composition from Mantegna's "Camera degli Sposi," even his technique here differs considerably from his later fresco work; the drapery is more simple than in his later creations, the shadows have been glazed, and those warm flesh-tints worked up gradually.

What a splendour of colour and form must have greeted the abbess and her nuns when the newly-painted chamber was first displayed to their view. Even now, as a German critic says, taken for all in all, the stanza of S. Paolo in Parma takes a first place among those private rooms adorned with decorative painting, which belong to the full bloom (*aus der Blütezeit*) of the Renaissance. In my own thought I should set it beside the work of Mantegna in the Castello of Mantua,

of Pinturricchio in the Appartamento Borgia, even of Perugino in the Sala del Cambio of Perugia, as one of the masterpieces in decorative work within a century which was prolific of great works.

And if such is the impression which it makes upon us now—when the sky, once clear blue, has become tinged with ashen-coloured dirt, when the foliage has been restored in ugly blotches of green—what must have been its effect in all its freshness and richness upon men and women in entire sympathy with its note of classic inspiration. We can picture the delight of the Abbess Giovanna Piacenza, of her architect Jorio da Erba, of the Cavaliere Scipione Montino, her counsellor and friend, of the nuns of the convent, perhaps crowding behind, as, entering the room with the scaffolding now removed, this wonder of art came into their full view for the first time.

Such a work as this must have been soon talked of throughout Parma, have given, perhaps, new strange thoughts of art to Araldi and Caselli and the existing school of the city, and was likely ere long to bring our Allegri the offer of fresh commissions. Such a commission was, in fact, soon now to come to him in the offer of the Benedictines of Parma, who (in 1519) had just completed their new church of S. Giovanni Evangelista; but before this we must reckon a return visit to Correggio by our artist (end of 1518 or 1519), and there are certain works of his which seem to fall within this period, and which I shall, therefore, describe now. Most important among these might be the well-known "Marriage of S. Catherine," of the Louvre collection, which Meyer places between 1517 and 1519, but which

Alinari photo] [*Convent of S. Paolo, Parma*

CHILDREN IN A ROUNDEL

I should myself place, judging from the types and execution, certainly after 1520. But to this period, however, probably belongs (1518) the "Marriage of S. Catherine" which is in Signore Fabrizi's collection, and which led on to the more finished conception of the Louvre, as well as the replicas of the subject at Naples (Museo Nazionale), and at Berlin (collection of Dr. Theodore Schall).

In all these three works the composition is identical. The Virgin is seated on the ground, with the Child Jesus, a boy of three or four, dressed in a little shirt, on her lap. S. Catherine, a very charming, girlish figure, kneels at her side, holding in her right hand the palm branch of triumph, extending her left hand to receive the ring which Jesus, His mother guiding His baby hand, is about to place upon her finger. Between them both, the saint and the Child Christ, lies a naked sword—a symbol, introduced into the happy, quiet scene, of his later Passion.

Altogether fresh, simple, delightful in sentiment, is the whole scene; the subject was, indeed, a favourite painting one with Allegri, and a legend grew up that, since he had possessed a sister named Caterina, the picture was intended for her as a wedding gift.

To the same period, or perhaps even a little earlier, belongs the delightful "Madonna della Cesta" of the National Gallery, where the Virgin is seated, a basket (*cesta*) at her side, the Child Jesus, clad in a little shirt, struggling upon her lap, and S. Joseph behind, busy with his carpentry. A rough sketch for this subject exists in the Vienna Museum; and the "Virgin giving her breast to the Child," of the Buda Pesth collection, belongs to the same period of Allegri's activity;

the Child turns from her to take some fruit offered by an angel, or, in the Hermitage version of the picture, by the little S. John.

Here, again, in this "Madonna del Latte," as in the early paintings of S. Catherine's mystic marriage, great uncertainty prevails as to which must be held the original among these replicas. In one point, however, all these paintings agree — in the wonderful sympathy of the young artist with child life and with maternity. This is a real, living, restless baby boy, who struggles on his mother's lap in the "Madonna della Cesta," or turns from her proffered breast in the "Madonna del Latte"; and what shall we say of that "Virgin adoring the Infant Christ," which is within the Tribuna of the Uffizi Gallery? I can call it only the most exquisite poem ever painted of sweet motherhood. Kneeling before the tiny, naked Babe, the young Mother, with outstretched hands, is absorbed in her contemplation; the scene is in the ruined stable, and a column and flight of steps lead the eyes away into the distance. Even if the colour here does not belong to the master's best work, yet the simple story has never been told more simply and more eloquently; it is the mystery of a mother's love, the outpouring of her soul before this strange new Being, in whose presence she dimly feels a divinity which connects her separate life with the wider universe.

CHAPTER VI

THE CHURCH OF S. JOHN THE EVANGELIST

WE now come to that period of Correggio's life to which belong the ripest works of his genius; these are the masterpieces which are characteristic of his completed style, and it is to these, above all, that belongs the quality which has been sometimes called, though the phrase is perhaps a little forced, the Correggiosity of Correggio. It will be remembered that he had returned to Correggio after the completion of the frescoes in the convent of S. Paolo. On January 18, of 1519, he was acting at Correggio as witness to a deed of settlement; a fortnight later he received a gift of a house and land in the Borgo Vecchio from his maternal uncle; in September of that year, he was present at the drawing up of two other deeds at Correggio; he gave, in October, his receipt to the priest of Albinea for payments in connection with the last altar-piece, and, possibly early in 1520, he married Girolama Merlini. It was probably, then, in this same year that Correggio commenced his great commission for the Benedictines in S. Giovanni Evangelista, and, in fact, the first entry of payment to him in the monastery account-books dates from July 20, of 1520.

The great church, which still is one of the glories of Parma, almost rivalling the cathedral, had been

only recently finished. The fame of the frescoes in the convent of S. Paolo had, no doubt, secured Allegri this new commission at Parma, and here he is now busy at work — as we find from the constant entries of accounts by the Benedictines—till the beginning of the year 1524.

The subject of the frescoes of the cupola is "The Vision at Patmos of S. John the Evangelist," the patron of the new church. Around the interior of the vast dome are grouped the eleven apostles, colossal figures magnificently planned, seated on the clouds, often nude or but slightly draped, and connected by bands of tumultuous cherubs; while the saint of Patmos, the patron of the church, gazes upward on the Redeemer, who soars up into space. Simple as is the conception, it is so grandly treated that it gains from that very simplicity; it contrasts favourably with the more complicated and later creation of the Duomo, and it might even be called Allegri's masterpiece.

It is when we seek the artistic derivation of this great fresco-work — whether drawn from the master's own perception and consciousness entirely, or derived in part from the work of his fore-runners — that a point of difficult criticism awaits us.

The Umbrian, Melozzo, perhaps a pupil of that great scientific painter Piero della Francesca, had come from Forli in the Romagna to Rome, and had painted for Cardinal Riario, the nephew of Pope Sixtus IV., the tribune of the church of the SS. Apostoli in that city,— a work of great importance and novelty for that period, which perished when the tribune was destroyed in 1711, though the central figure of the Christ is still pre-

Anderson photo] [*S. John the Evangelist, Parma*

SS. PETER AND PAUL IN THE CUPOLA

served. Here the Saviour was seen ascending upwards, as if piercing the semi-dome, rising to heaven amid a throng of cherubim; and it has been suggested that this picture—derived itself, perhaps, in its daring perspective, from the teaching of Piero della Francesca and the influence of Mantegna—was the school from which Allegri derived directly his "Ascending Christ watched by the grouped Apostles," in the church of S. Giovanni. This presumes, of course, the journey of the young student to Rome, at which I have hinted; but here, too, another influence appears, yet more marked and more certain, bearing out therefore strongly the journey in question; and that is the influence in these frescoes of Raphael of Urbino. Already the thought may have come to us, and has been traced by one critic in the frescoes of the camera of S. Paolo, in the naked "putti" who play within the wreaths, in the painting of the lunettes, of Diana in her car, in the vigour and rich life of the whole composition; but there it was more diffused, more indefinite, whereas here it is more marked, not alone in the "putti" who sport beneath the seated saints and doctors, in the scheme of the composition, which seems to complete that semi-circle of saints on earth and in heaven of Raphael's "Disputà," but also more markedly still in these superb seated figures of apostles within the cupola. This can be seen by comparing, as I have done, within this church, a good photograph of the "Disputà," in the Vatican, with these figures by our Correggio. In all is a similar breath of inspiration, and in one figure will be found almost an identity of facial type and pose of body. "The likeness," says Dr. Thode, "the

relationship of these superb apostles with the types especially of the Stanza della Segnatura, and more particularly still of the 'Disputà,'—we may compare in this last especially the figures of the Adam, the S. Laurence, and the Philosopher on the right in the foreground—is so absolutely striking, that unwillingly, as we look at these frescoes, our fancy is transported back to that room of the Vatican."

It is fair, perhaps, to add here that Sig. Ricci does not seem disposed to favour this Roman visit, and that the positive evidence some earlier writers put forward seems entirely unreliable. What has altered my view on this point has been my own study of these two masters, which points me to the conviction that some connection between them must surely have existed, that Allegri must have had some knowledge of Roman art when he was painting these frescoes.

And it is worth our while to pause before these wonderful figures of the cupola, before the aged S. John, with hair and beard "as white as wool," before the two elder apostles with their arms interlaced on the clouds above him, and that younger apostle, "seated, like an antique god, on the yellow robe that angels hold out for him, nude, like the more mature S. Paul, who sits beside the aged S. Peter, and seeming in his Phœbus-like form and glorious head to have caught the inspiration of the highest Hellenic art."

Between these figures of apostles, men of mature years or in life's prime, full of robust dignity, whole bands of tumultuous cherubs sport and play, giving the note of gaiety that Allegri loved to the whole composition.

Alinari photo] [*S. John the Evangelist, Parma*

S. JOHN AND S. AUGUSTINE, WITH ANGELS

And the central point of this whole composition, to which the eyes of these grouped apostles converge—though the angel children sport thoughtlessly, careless of all save their own radiant life — is the figure of the ascending Christ. But here we cannot point to an artistic triumph. If there is something grand, almost elemental, in these eleven colossal figures seated on the circle of clouds—like those giants whom Dante depicted, in the ninth circle of his "Inferno," as seated over the brink of the abyss—their draped or undraped forms of heroic beauty and power, in their eyes "a gaze not of contemplation or thought, but of wild, half-savage joy"; yet in the centre figure, to whom the whole interest converges, the effect of perspective sought has been perhaps too forced, and results in a form which rises without sufficient dignity—a sprawling figure, it has been suggested, which reminds one irresistibly of a frog. This criticism, which we shall find applied later to his whole composition of the Duomo cupola, shows the risk to which he was exposed by his predilection for foreshortened effects. It comes from the difficulty of his subject itself; while, elsewhere, in the seated apostles, we find dignity and a divine power, and in his angelic bands an exquisite sense of adolescent beauty.

No less worthy of our admiration are the groups of apostles and doctors of the church, who fill the pendentives beneath. Four of these there are, with two seated figures in each, and attended by tumultuous bands of child-angels. S. Matthew here turns to speak to S. Jerome, who writes apparently from his dictation; S. Mark is beside S. Gregory, into whose ear the Dove

is whispering: SS. Luke and Ambrose are together; S. John explains some point of doctrine to the great divine, S. Augustine. The most lovely boyish forms and faces peep out beneath, above, and around these grave saintly figures, emerge from the floating clouds, sit perched on the cornice above S. Matthew or S. Augustine, or uphold the book of S. Matthew, the tiara of S. Gregory, the pastoral staff of S. Augustine, and perform their service with a certain gleeful exuberance of radiant, almost riotous, life. Unfortunately, these pendentives have suffered from the work of time; the smoke of incense and flambeaux has come from the church beneath, the damp has penetrated from the small windows above, the colour has crumbled away in patches, and it is only a relic of their former beauty that they still preserve for us.

Under these conditions, it becomes a duty to mention here our obligation to one who made it his life-work to preserve for us, as far as he then could, this priceless record of Allegri's genius. Paolo Toschi was born at Parma in 1788, had studied painting there under Biagio Martini, and had gone later to Paris, where he was the friend of the painter Gérard, and where he learnt the arts of etching and engraving. When, ten years later, he returned to Parma, Maria Louisa, a true patron of art and learning, was on the ducal throne, and, realising Paolo Toschi's talent, made him director of the Academy. It was then that he formed the idea of engraving a whole series of Correggio's frescoes. Assisted by a band of enthusiastic pupils, from all parts of Italy and Europe, among whom were Raimondi of Milan, Costa of Venice, Eichens of Berlin, Juvara of Naples, Bisola and others

Alinari photo] [*S. John the Evangelist, Parma*

APOSTLES AND CHILD ANGELS IN THE CUPOLA

from Parma, he mounted the scaffolding before the decaying frescoes of S. Giovanni Evangelista, of the Camera di S. Paolo, and of the Parma Duomo. He thus produced a whole series of careful water-colour drawings of these masterpieces, which I have been able to study lately in the Royal Gallery of Parma. To say that these are exact reproductions of Correggio would be unfair to the master. A certain academic air pervades them, and gives them a softness, almost a prettiness, which is far removed from the elemental force and beauty of Allegri's own conceptions.

Yet it is impossible to overrate our debt to Toschi and his pupils; and, to take a practical instance, I have been obliged to take sometimes my illustrations from the clear, finished water-colours rather than the hopelessly faded and damaged originals. Symonds only does the great engraver simple justice when he says, in a passage which deserves quoting: "Even in the cathedral and the church of S. Giovanni, where Correggio's frescoes cover cupola and chapel wall, we could scarcely comprehend his greatness now,—so cruelly have time and neglect dealt with these delicate dream-shadows of celestial fairyland,—and were it not for an interpreter who consecrated a life-time to the task of translating his master's poetry of fresco into the prose of engraving. That man was Paolo Toschi, a name to be venerated by all lovers of the arts, since, without his guidance, we should hardly know what to seek for in the ruined splendours of the domes of Parma, or even, seeking, how to find the object of our search. He respected Correggio's handiwork with religious scrupulousness, adding not a line, or touch, or tone of colour to the

fading frescoes; but he lived among them, aloft on scaffoldings, and face to face with the originals which he designed to reproduce. By long and close familiarity, by obstinate and patient interrogation, he divined Correggio's secret, and was able to see at last clearly through the mists of cobweb and mildew and altar smoke, and through the still more cruel travesty of so-called restoration. What he discovered, he faithfully committed, first to paper in water-colours, and then to copper-plate with the burin. It is not too much to say that some of Correggio's most charming compositions—for example, the 'Dispute of S. Augustine and S. John'—have been resuscitated from the grave by Toschi's skill. . . ." Yet it may be admitted once and for all that Toschi has not unfrequently enfeebled his original. Under his touch, Correggio loses somewhat of his sensuous audacity, his dithyrambic ecstasy, and approaches the ordinary standard of prettiness and graceful beauty. The Diana of the Camera of S. Paolo, for instance, has the strong calm splendour of a goddess; the same Diana in Toschi's engraving seems about to smile with girlish joy. In a word, the engraver was a man of more common stamp, more timid and more conventional than the painter.

And now, returning to the dome of S. Giovanni Evangelista, we find the completion of Allegri's work in the symbols of the evangelists between the windows in the frieze, amid a network of festoon and decoration, in which the symbolic beasts show a most friendly spirit each toward the other. A study for these is in the Louvre Museum, showing naked winged cherubs

embracing an eagle and a winged lion. And, finally, at the bases of the *soffiti* of the four arches are eight ovals, painted in sepia, and which Signore Ricci asserts, with all the weight of his great authority, to be the undoubted work of the master.

They represent scenes from Old Testament history, which have a symbolic connection with the Passion and Resurrection of Christ. Moses gazes upon the burning bush; Elijah ascends in the fiery chariot; Daniel moves unhurt within the flames of the furnace; Jonah, cast up by the whale, symbolises the story of the Resurrection; Samson is carrying off the gates of Gaza; Abraham is offering sacrifice, Abel is being slain, and S. Joseph, as the later legend told, bears the flowering rod. This chiaroscuro decoration seems a peculiar and striking feature of all these noble churches of Parma; even this church of S. Giovanni has elsewhere some beautiful work of this nature, though not by the master's hand, and in the great church of S. Maria della Steccata, some of Parmigiano's finest figures are painted in chiaroscuro as part of the decoration.

But Correggio's work in this great church of the Benedictines of Parma does not end with the frescoes I have mentioned. On the contrary, we have still to study a work, which, though mutilated and ruined, and easily, therefore, to be lost sight of by the hurried visitor to Parma, remains for the student of Allegri a subject of the most exceptional interest and importance.

The visitor will see, without doubt, both the frescoes of the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista and of the

Duomo. He will trace out, what is even superficially apparent, the difference of artistic aim and treatment between these two masterpieces; but not so easily will he discover what can be traced only for us now in piecemeal, the work which is the connection between those two great decorative efforts, the link that binds their progress.

The "Coronation of the Virgin" is that connecting link, the work which binds together these two great creations and shows the transition from the earlier to the later style of Allegri. And yet we have now but a copy, that transcript of the lovely group of angel heads, of the bowed and beautiful Virgin, which still remains to us from Caracci's brush within the Parma Gallery. For here the original work is lost for us, and survives only in copies or fortunate fragments. Correggio, when he had completed the work we have just studied, went on next, and probably at once, to the decoration of the great chapel or tribune; this we trace with certainty in the entries of expense which follow after the payments made for the work in the cupola.

The subject was a "Coronation of Madonna." In the centre sat Christ the King, His sceptre in His left hand, while with the right He placed the crown of stars upon the head of Mary, who, bending towards Him with folded arms and bowed head, awaited the symbol that proclaimed her Queen of Heaven. At the side four saints, the two SS. John, the Evangelist and Baptist, S. Benedict and S. Maurus, did her service; and in the background the angels swarmed out of the tossing clouds, a countless host of fair glad young faces, breathing the very rapture of the courts of Heaven. Such

was the fresco — a creation marvellous, unequalled, blending the severer drawing of the frescoes of the earlier cupola with that passion of beauty that breathes through and redeems all the faults of the Duomo. But such it is not now; for in 1586 the Benedictines commissioned Cesare Aretusi to make a copy of their fresco, and in 1587 the entire apse was demolished in order to enlarge the church.

The great fresco was therefore destroyed by the patrons of the church; let us see what remains to us from it. First, the central figures of Christ Himself and the Virgin; this was cut out, and is now preserved in the Biblioteca Reale. Next the copies of this central group, and especially of two beautiful groups of angels' heads by the Caracci,—whom we know to have been enthusiastic students of Correggio,—within the Parma Gallery; then some fragments of the original angel heads in the possession of Mr. Mond, in London; also some studies and drawings for the fresco, among which I may mention especially one in red chalk of the Virgin with crossed arms and bowed head, a very beautiful figure, in the Louvre collection; another which is to be found in the Dyce collection at S. Kensington, a group of angels playing musical instruments, and signed *Coregio*; and, finally, Cesare Aretusi's copy of the original work in the apse of S. Giovanni Evangelista. Putting all these together we can form a fair conception of the fresco which has been lost; but what that loss has been we may judge from comparison of the one surviving fragment of the fresco itself with the tame transcript of the same portion in the Parma Gallery.

For the loveliest of all Correggio's works, perhaps, is the fragment preserved in the Parma Library of this "Coronation of the Virgin." Compare this original with Caracci's copy, to judge what we lost from Allegri's art, when the great fresco was destroyed. In this torn fragment even, remains, to my thought, his masterpiece in fresco, and the connecting link between the work of S. Giovanni Evangelista and the Duomo. Most beautiful in ideal type is the Madonna here, but the Christ too will compare with Raphael's Christ in the "Disputà"; and these two, with Leonardo's Christ of the "Cenacolo," form, perhaps, the most perfect presentments in Italian art of the Redeemer.

Here He is clad in a white mantle fastened at the neck by a great brooch of gold; He bears a sceptre, and the Dove flutters above His head. The Virgin folds her arms over her breast, bending slightly towards Him; her fair hair is drawn back from the low smooth forehead, and her outer mantle is of blue. The face and the whole figure—to be compared with the Magdalen of the "Madonna of S. Jerome"—belongs to Allegri's most exquisite type of woman's beauty. *Veni! Coronaberis!* (Come, Thou shalt be crowned!) seems to be the legend expressed by the gesture of Son and Mother.

And if we find this contrast here between the original and Caracci's copy, what, we may argue, have we not lost in those groups of angel forms which were destroyed. Even in the copies of these heads within the Parma Gallery they fascinate us by their strange and individual beauty, head rising above head from the masses of billowy clouds, with long fair hair, and

Anderson photo] [*S. John the Evangelist, Parma*

GROUP OF APOSTLES AND CHILD ANGELS

wide open eyes of wonder — the true brothers of those naked genii who swing their censers beneath the cupola of the cathedral; "genii disimprisoned," they have been called, "from the perfumed chalices of flowers, houris of an erotic paradise, elemental spirits of nature wantoning in Eden in her prime."

Where, we may ask, did Allegri obtain the models of this strange individual exotic loveliness? What were the visions that passed before the brain of the quiet, busy worker, as he stood upon the scaffold before the plaster that waited for his message? The question will come again before us in a succeeding chapter; but here we turn away to visit one last work of his genius—less dithyrambic, less Correggesque, but not less beautiful—the seated S. John in the lunette over the small door of the left transept. Above in the cupola we have seen S. John in the advanced age of his exile at Patmos, rapt in the celestial vision of those who had gone before him, his hair and beard as white as wool; here we see him in the beauty of his ardent youth, such a figure as Leonardo conceived leaning toward the Master in his Last Supper, but seated now, contemplative, in repose, and absorbed within his thought. He looks up in the act of composition; a pile of books lies on a wooden chest behind him, on the other side his eagle plucks a feather from his wing—the feather, perhaps, that shall indite the message of Divine Love that is in his mind. He is still young—I wrote before this fresco—as when once he sate beside the Saviour; his drapery is half-covered by an outer robe of crimson falling loosely over his limbs, his hair falls in full waving locks beside a face of

wonderful beauty: above him is the legend: *Altius . coeteris . Dei . patefecit . arcana.*

And this figure, one of the most delightful he ever painted, concludes our notice of Correggio's work in this great Benedictine church of S. John the Evangelist; for the other decorations here came into other artists' hands, the frieze possibly to Rondani, the arabesques of the vault to Anselmi, contemporary artists whose works I have summarised in my study of the Renaissance Art. In the work which we shall now come to in the cathedral, Correggio shows himself as a master of foreshortening and the most difficult problems of movement; here in S. Giovanni, the action is generally less violent, the scheme of colour cool and restful, rising, however, to great brilliance in the flesh-tints of the figures which in the cupola stand out against the golden luminous sky.

One fresco remains, which, belonging to this period, partaking in its qualities of technique, may appropriately be noticed here. I refer to the very lovely but damaged fresco of the "Madonna and the divine Child," called the "Madonna della Scala," formerly over the Porta S. Michele, the gate of a tower on the eastern wall of Parma, and now within the Parma Gallery. Here, in the charming figure of the young Mother, bending with pride over the baby boy in her lap, Dr. Thode finds another proof of Raphael's attraction for our artist, and remarks that "the charm (*die Liebreiz*) of expression in both Mother and Child, the warm glowing flesh tints, make us compare this work to those beautiful similar works of Raphael, of whose influence on Correggio this offers again a clear proof." Yet the connection here, if it exists at all, is far more general

and diffused than in the frescoes of the cupola which we have studied, and is rather, as the same critic suggests, the "free diffusion of one artistic genius through another" (*eines Genies durch ein Genie*).

What seems certain is that the ruined fresco which has now found safety in the Gallery has been one of Allegri's most typical works, and belongs, if not to 1520, at least to very near the period of the S. Giovanni frescoes. What is no less certain is, that, in leaving that period, we leave a most delightful epoch of Allegri's creative genius, when that genius was most ripe, most vigorous and forceful, and yet kept within the limits of a certain artistic reserve. We turn to another style within the Duomo, which is more brilliant perhaps, more seductive, but more prone in its very complexity to become a school of later decadent exaggeration.

Yet the same qualities of the master's mind appear in both the earlier and later work: the progress of his art is but the working out of those tendencies and qualities.

CHAPTER VII

THE FRESCOES OF THE DUOMO

WE come now to a central point in our study of the master of Parma, to the moment when his development is complete, when, knowing his full strength, he presses his qualities and tendencies to their farthest point in the creation of a work of the greatest magnitude and beauty.

Other paintings, it is true, belong to this period; and especially to the interval when for a while he laid aside the frescoes of S. Giovanni Evangelista, before the commencement of his new commission within the Parma Duomo. To these belong the "Ecce Homo," the "Christ at Gethsemane," the "Noli me tangere"; but I shall prefer to leave these to be taken with other religious works in the succeeding chapter, and to devote this chapter entirely to the difficult and fascinating subject of the frescoes within Parma Cathedral.

The first commission given to Allegri for these frescoes dates from November of 1522, when his fame had already become great through the decorations of the convent of S. Paolo and S. Giovanni Evangelista, but when he was in the midst of his work, commenced in 1520—completed in 1524, for the Benedictines within the latter church.

Still, the agreement was then drawn up, on November

3, 1522, with "Master Antonio di Corigia" that he "shall engage to paint at his expense the choir, the cupola with its arches and pillars, the frieze, the arcades and niches with their mouldings, and all the wall-space in the chapel . . . decorating these with given subjects which shall be either imitations of life, or of bronze, or marble, according as the place may demand, and as best may accord with the building itself and the beauty of his paintings." And Correggio's own autograph statement is inserted in the agreement. "Having carefully considered the work which your lordships are pleased to entrust to me, namely, that taking the choir, the cupola, with its arches and great pillars, . . . I should decorate them with given subjects in imitation of life, or bronze, or marble as best may accord . . . and having calculated that my outlay for gold-leaf, colours, and the final coat of cement on which I shall paint will be 100 ducats I cannot, having regard to our own honour and that of the place, undertake the work for less than 1000 gold ducats, and the following appliances: 1. Scaffoldings. 2. The mortar preparation of the walls. 3. Cement for the plastering. 4. A large room or enclosed chapel in which to prepare the cartoons."

It is interesting here to note that the first entry was 1200 ducats, and that this has been erased in favour of the lesser sum, namely 1000: but as the artist was still busy in S. Giovanni Evangelista, there was no question of his commencing the new work immediately, and, as a matter of fact, the cupola was only restored and made ready for him in November of 1523, while the first payment, of seventy-six gold ducats, for work done in cupola, does not occur till November of 1526. We may

notice, too, that the Cavaliere Scipione Montino della Rosa, Allegri's first patron, at the convent of S. Paolo, appears as one of the witnesses for the arrangement of this restoration, and the painter Araldi is the other.

And now let us try to get a clear idea of this great decorative fresco work, which was commenced evidently in the year 1526. In my chapter on Correggio at Parma ("Renaissance in Italian Art," pt. ii.) I have said very briefly, but, I think, clearly: "In the pendentives here the master has painted four saints, seated on clouds (SS. Hilary, Bernard, Thomas, and S. John Baptist), supported and waited on by the loveliest attendant angels. In the octagonal cornice above, in front of a simulated balustrade, the twelve apostles stand—here again colossal figures—and gaze up at the Assumption of the Virgin, which fills the cupola; and beside the candelabra, which rise at each angle, beautiful youthful genii are busying themselves, seated, standing, sprinkling incense, or gazing upward."

This is only a brief description of the subject; but working on this outline, we may proceed to fill in the details, and to take separately the different parts of the composition.

And first we may commence with these lower pendentives or niches, on which have been painted the guardian saints of Parma, each tended by a throng of joyous child angels, and seen against a shell-shaped background adorned with clustered fruit. S. Hilary sits with outspread arms, robed in surplice and chasuble. Beneath and around him, out of the billowy clouds, emerge the attendant angels, one holding his book, another his mitre, another his pastoral staff; while the

loveliest of all, a nude boy of great beauty, clasps his little comrade's hand, and turns to look upward at the saint,—at whose feet he rests one moment, as he seems to spring downward into the church.

Then comes S. Bernardo degli Uberti, a grave bearded figure of severer aspect; yet he too is tended by a similar throng of merry, joyous young angel figures. Where with S. Hilary these are boys, here two of the loveliest are young girls, with braided hair, and figures half-concealed and half-emergent from the clouds. Both are nude, and one resting on the clouds at his feet seems to float in space, while the other springs forward, as if swimming through the air; a boy-angel behind upholds his master's pastoral staff.

Next, S. Thomas, with white hair and beard, a noble old man, wrapped in a yellow robe, and carrying what seems to be the shaft of a lance; around him, too, seven angel forms are grouped, and carry his emblems, the lily, the flagon, the palm branch, while one upholds the saint's left foot. But the S. John Baptist embraces the lamb, who rests upon his knee, and around him a group of angels riot in the clouds, emerge as if occupied with some celestial game of hide-and-seek, or point upwards to the saint and his lamb.

Beautiful though these saintly figures are,—the S. Hilary especially and the S. Bernard,—yet the attitudes are somewhat forced and extravagant, the draperies involved, and it is really in the nude figures of the angels that Correggio's mastery of hand appears. Even here we might imagine some severe judge of Christian art to have perhaps considered the whole treatment as inappropriate to the sacred subject. Certain it seems

that if some such ascetic as that preacher of repentance, the Voice that called through the wilderness, or this S. Bernard degli Uberti were to be suddenly invaded in his hour of holy meditation by this roguish, radiant throng of naked angels, boys and girls, in their first grace of adolescent beauty, he might not improbably resent both the intrusion and their proferred ministration,—even if he did not dismiss the whole band with a conclusive "*Apage.*" But we must at least absolve Correggio from any intentional misuse of the mysteries of the faith; accepting these — as no doubt he did—sincerely, he was absorbed as an artist in his vision of ideal beauty, and in the entire delight of its presentment.

And if this fairy vision delights us in these lower groups, it reaches its completion, its most exquisite expression above, in those figures which are grouped along the balustrade. Here, before this simulated balustrade, the apostles stand together in pairs or singly, occupied for the most part in looking upward at the scene of the Virgin's Ascension. Behind them, upon this same balustrade, are grouped those figures in which, on this occasion, Allegri, the painter of the Graces, absolutely excelled himself, and which are among the most perfect creations of the world's art in any time.

On this point I think that, at least for most of us, there can be very little doubt.

For nothing that Allegri has left us, not even the greatest of his paintings of Christian saints or virgins, or old heathen legend, can equal in pure beauty of type these figures which, grouped behind the entranced apostles, do not often look up like them, but seem all absorbed and busy with their acts of service. Nude for

Alinari photo] [*Parma Cathedral*

APOSTLES AND GENII IN THE CUPOLA

the most part, or draped in loose white bands of linen, they fill the smoking censers, scatter incense on the flaming torches whose smoke ascends above them, or bear great vessels of metal. Elsewhere they seem to whisper one another as they look downward towards us in the church, and stand, recline, move forward, or rest upon the outmost balustrade in attitudes which reveal the white shapeliness of their gleaming limbs, the gladness of their young and radiant faces. Whatever may be the difficulties of seeing the frescoes on the roof of the Sistina, here the height is threefold as much, and the strain on eyes and neck three times as great. But it is possible to get a seat on the left of the altar under the cupola, and to lean back and gaze upwards to our fill; then returning home, to correct and improve the impression gained then by the later study of prints and photographs. And the thought that comes to me after this study, sitting again here in the old Duomo, where Allegri worked, is that the whole thing is a sort of Vision, a bit of the blue heaven that this magician has opened for us, and shown us within those white clouds this symphony of lovely faces and of tossing limbs. Sometimes, towards sunset, when the forms of cloudland have been clearly defined, banked up in firm, embattled masses against the fading blue, I had dreamed, in my boyish fancy, that out of those cloud-shapes the white forms of gods might yet appear, enthroned, even as the poets had sung of them in old Olympus.

And that would be surely such a vision as Allegri seems to have created for us here. First, the saints beneath attract attention, S. John embracing his lamb,

S. Bernard, and their two saintly companions, descending out of some cloudland of fancy, wherein naked cherubs, boys and girls, with long blonde hair and white limbs, revel and hide and half-emerge amid the billowy softness.

Then the long line of figures in the upper dome comes to meet our raised eyes, the apostles gazing upwards, and beside and above them the naked genii —forms of the most purely ideal beauty that Correggio ever created. And now, far up into the cupola itself, a crowd of angelic beings rises upwards, heavenwards into space, half-hidden by the clouds, from which limbs, folds of drapery, faces suddenly appear: and, within the very midst of these, the Madonna, with outstretched arms of rapture, soars upward, and seems to be already lost to our sight as she is carried by that throng of spirits into the vast spaces of sunlit air. But the whole, vague, mysterious, bathed in vaporous light, moving in this world of cloudland, kept far apart from the hard realities and facts of life below.

Eve, who holds out the apple, is not a woman of ripe and splendid beauty, the strong mother of all living men, such as Raphael and Buonarroti, in the Vatican, conceived her; but a dream form, a lovely, smiling face given back into the vapour and the sunlight. The genii who bear these torches are of no common earthly race; the saints seem themselves the athletes of this cloud-land—the whole is but a portion of the air and golden light of Heaven, of the clouds unrolled to show some rift within the deepest blue, the Vision of a Beauty which was unknown before, which showed itself then only, but not again, before or since.

Alinari photo] [*Parma Cathedral*

APOSTLES AND GENII IN THE CUPOLA

And if we ask, as has been asked, whence the painter of Parma drew these angel forms and faces who crowd behind the grouped apostles, who swing their censers, or carry great bowls of incense within the outer court of this ascending Vision, we must answer, as I believe, that it came to him from his own most inward feeling, the revelation to his own thought of this special type of beauty.

This we see very clearly from the study which exists at Vienna, for the genius who, above one of the apostles, upholds a bowl of incense. A common type enough in the sketch; a girl with loose, short, curling hair, and strong figure just forming; but in the fresco idealised into a glorious being of neutral sex and absolutely radiant beauty, who stands above the painted window, and turns a glad smiling face toward us. What, therefore, happened in this one case might, and probably did, take place in the others. From the types and models around him, the artist, sketching roughly, as was his wont, drew the figures, which he transfused,—in those long hours upon the scaffold alone with his thought,—into the glorious creatures of his imagination, where even the apostles are beings of colossal form, Titans who stand upon the ramparts of Heaven.

And the magic which he has used in this transformation, lies, speaking technically, in his science of chiaroscuro. For just as we shall trace to this quality of his art the beauty of some of his greatest altar-pieces—in the "Madonna of S. Jerome," the "infinity of delicate reflections," which penetrate the transparent shadows; in the "Madonna of S. George," the masterly

distribution of light and shadow: so in this work, of the same mature period, within the cupola, it is the exquisite play of reflections within the shadows, the wonderful delicacy and transparency of modulation, which gives to his figures a great part of their charm.

Symonds, too, has approached this point of Allegri's art in words of appreciative criticism, from which I am tempted to quote. "Brightness and darkness," he says, "are woven together in his figures like an impalpable veil, aërial and transparent, enhancing the palpitations of voluptuous movement which he loved. His colouring does not glow or burn; blithesome and delicate, it seems exactly such a beauty bloom as sense requires for its satiety. Within his own circle Correggio reigns supreme, no other artist having blent the witcheries of colouring, *chiaroscuro*, and wanton loveliness of form, into a harmony so perfect in its sensuous charm." Outside one or two of the later altar-pieces mentioned above, we must turn to these radiant figures of genii and angels beneath the cupola for this new art of chiaroscuro, which our artist had drawn perhaps in the first instance from his study of Leonardo, but which he had developed for himself into those magical half-lights and opaque shadows which play over the flesh-tones in his paintings.

And these genii themselves are, as it were, a new and fascinating creation of the art of his period. For just as the earlier art of the fifteenth century had transformed the antique Loves, recovered from the past, into winged Christian cherubs, so now an elder brood seems to be re-created from the fabled forms of Eros

Alinari photo] [*Parma Cathedral*

APOSTLES AND GENII IN THE CUPOLA

and Psyche, which Raphael had portrayed within the Farnesina.

Had the artist drawn this fresh conception from the memory of some visit to the Sistina, where Michelangelo had covered the roof with his tremendous Vision of Prophets and Sybils, and of glorious elemental spirits? Had he seen, beside the Sibyls that Raphael had painted (1514) in S. Maria della Pace of Rome, those lovely, full-grown angels' forms, draped in loose robes, and with coloured plumage, or the naked cherub boys who nestle near beside them? Or was it his first most certain inspiration, that of the great Mantegna, which inspired his thought in the memory of those triumphal figures, those splendid classic youths, who light their flambeaux or walk before the elephants, in the procession that precedes victorious Caesar? From whatever source the thought was drawn, in Allegri's hand it becomes for us here his own, the intimate expression of his dream of beautiful life.

Let us turn now from this group of genii,—the most perfect thing of beauty that he has conceived,—to study at our leisure the vast fresco that fills the cupola. Imagine—I wrote elsewhere—a mass of figures, of interlacing limbs, and lovely forms, of sparkling eyes and floating tresses of long hair, all moving upwards in a haze of golden light, circling, as if seized with a frenzy of glad rapture, around the central figure of the ascending Madonna. They form and re-form, spread out their arms, and leap headlong into the clouds; their white forms quiver with the very ecstasy of movement; sometimes amid the changing groups the figures of Bible history appear—Eve extends the mystic apple,

Abraham is there with Isaac, Judith carries the head of her country's tyrant—all share in the rapture of glad adoration; and around them the lovely spirits revel in the golden light, play lutes or mandolines, or clash the cymbals, rush, mad with joy, into each other's arms, or circle above, below, around the upsoaring Queen of Heaven. . . . The whole wonderful composition rises upwards, and takes our thoughts with it; from the grave saints tended by the child angels, from the apostles above and their glad genii, to the uprushing wave of angel forms, who soar into the golden haze of the cupola, it is a cry of "*Sursum corda!*" "Lift up your hearts!"—that the old painter of heavenly joy has sent us. This is that famous frescoed cupola of Parma on which succeeding artists lavished their praise; of which Caracci wrote: "Truly neither Tibaldo (Pellegrini Tibaldi), nor Niccolino (Niccolo Abate), nor even Raphael himself has equalled it"; which Scannelli called an epitome of all the excellences, and Mengs "the most beautiful of all cupolas painted either before or since."

Many of the studies by the master for this great work still exist; at the Louvre, the S. John Baptist; at Vienna, the study for an apostle, and again (Erzherzog Franz Ferdinand's collection) for the apostle and female genius bearing an incense-bowl, which I have mentioned; at Dresden, the ascending Virgin herself; at Windsor, the drawing for the figures of Abraham, Isaac, and Adam within the cupola; in the British Museum, the figure of Eve, but here not holding the apple; at Chatsworth, various "putti," which can scarcely be identified.

Alinari photo] [*Cupola of Parma Cathedral*

THE ASCENDING VIRGIN, WITH SAINTS AND ANGELS

That the vast composition has its faults has become evident to a later criticism, and I have already compared it with the earlier frescoes of S. Giovanni Evangelista to the advantage of the former. It is, in a way, too clever, it rejoices too obviously in the conquering of technical difficulties: the attitudes may seem to us violent or affected, the foreshortening sudden and difficult, the whole effect of that whirling concourse of forms within the cupola most confused.

Yet a legend tells that Titian, consulted on the merit of the great work, cried, taking his eyes away at length from the cupola: "Turn it upside down and fill it with gold; even so, you will not have paid its just price." And, even after owning its demerits, its overstraining toward a most difficult technical problem,—that of bodies vanishing abruptly into space,—if we cannot quite agree, yet we can feel with the enthusiasm of Dr. Thode, when he exclaims: "Who ventures to criticise here, shows a proof of his own poverty of imagination, and merely proves that the incomparable artistic greatness of this work, so often copied, but never equalled, has not even reached him." Correggio himself was no doubt absorbed by his problem: how—he asked himself—would these figures really appear if seen ascending heavenward from the earth? If he succeeded, he did so at the expense of decorative beauty, despite all the laudations of his successors: and yet the whole decoration, including the lower tiers, is a masterpiece of the world's art. What, indeed, the contemporaries and the successors of Allegri praised, we may not praise; and to a generation which has turned back with enthusiasm to the earlier masters,

perhaps the painter of Parma may seem already near the decadence.

But Correggio belongs truly both to his time and to all time; and the criticism, which bows before the noble religious art of Giotto, or Angelico, or Vannucci, must find a place, too, if it is to be universal, to be worthy of itself, for this wonderful Vision of Beauty within the Parma Duomo.

CHAPTER VIII

LATER RELIGIOUS PAINTINGS

WE have now, at this point in our study of Allegri's work, to retrace our steps to a period earlier than we have already reached in these frescoes of the Parma Duomo, in order to include those religious paintings which he had been producing during the years when he was occupied also on his great commissions of S. Giovanni Evangelista and the cathedral. It will be remembered that we have already studied (chap. v.) a group of smaller religious paintings (1518-19), the two paintings of the "Marriage of S. Catherine," at Berlin and Rome, the "Madonna del Latte," the "Madonna della Cesta," the "Virgin adoring the little Christ," of the Uffizi Tribuna—all works which fall under our notice during the period to which belong the decorations of the Camera di San Paolo.

The works to which I shall now direct attention are of a later period, of a riper, richer artistic expression. Leading up through a series of works of great interest, from 1520-26, they culminate (1527-31) in four most noble and priceless creations, two of which are in the Dresden, two in the Parma Gallery, and which may be said to form together the completion of Correggio's new message in art.

And first among this series comes the "Martyrdom of

SS. Placidus and Flavia" (1520-24), which is now in the Parma Gallery. Like the beautiful "Descent from the Cross," which now hangs near it in the same gallery, this subject was commissioned by Father Placido del Bono, the confessor of Paul III., for his chapel within S. Giovanni Evangelista; and the subsequent history of the two paintings is almost identical. They both remained undisturbed until the invasion of the French in 1796, when they were included in the booty of the conquerors, and carried off to Paris. The artistic plunder of the French at this time must have been enormous, as we see to this day at Perugia, which has been almost swept clear of her master's best works, some of which still repose in French provincial museums; but these two paintings of Correggio had a better fate, for they were returned to Parma after the Treaty of 1815.

The subject of this "Martyrdom of Roman Saints" does not seem suited to Allegri's joyous temperament; and Sig. Corrado Ricci himself says: "*Questo dipinto, pur contenendo parti magnifiche, non soddisfa interamente.*" In the drawing, which still exists, he had put the two truncated bodies full in the centre of the sketch, an arrangement which he fortunately altered in the completed painting. As it is the dead bodies roll forwards at the corner of the canvas, giving a further tragic note, which is scarcely needed where S. Placidus bends his mild head to receive the swordsman's blow, and S. Flavia looks up with rapt gaze while the sword is thrust beneath her breast.

In his later art Correggio avoided these scenes of violent death; and we see that in his "Marriage of

Alinari photo] [*Parma Gallery*

THE MARTYRDOM OF SS. PLACIDUS AND FLAVIA

S. Catherine," at the Louvre, he had reduced to a minimum the two Martyrdoms, which were no doubt commissioned as a part of the subject. Thus, too, the "Deposition," which Burckhardt praised so highly, a scene of deep grief but less violent tragedy, has been felt, it would seem, by him with more conviction, and expressed with more sincerity and beauty. The dead Christ has but just been lifted from the Cross, and lies upon a white winding sheet, His head resting on His Mother's knees, who leans back almost swooning in her grief. Wonderful are these two faces, that of the Christ in His past agony, of the Mother in her present suffering; while at His feet the Magdalen with unbound hair, wrings her hands in her grief, and the other Marys press beside the Virgin.

Following always the same note of sorrow and divine suffering, the same story of the Passion, are two paintings of great beauty, both now in England—the "Ecce Homo," of the National Gallery, and the "Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane," of Apsley House.

Most beautiful, most nobly conceived, is this figure of Jesus, in the London picture, as the "Man of Sorrows,"—His wrists bound with cords, His head crowned with the thorns, while Pilate, standing behind, points Him out to the people. In front of Him the Virgin Mother is visible, swooning back here too into the Mary's arms, her face less distorted by suffering and not less beautiful than in the figure of the "Deposition." This is the type which was accepted by the Caracci and later artists as the "Mother of Suffering," the "Mater Dolorosa"; and, small though the compass is into which these numerous figures have been introduced, the picture does not seem really

to suffer from the sense of overcrowding. Its history is complicated, and at least three "Ecce Homo's" were existing in the seventeenth century which claimed to be Correggio's original. We may, however, assume the London picture to have been that which was in the Colonna collection (mentioned by Pungileoni as there), and was sold by the family to Sir Simon Clarke; after which it passed into the Murat collection, then into the hands (1834) of the Marquis of Londonderry, and hence finally to the National Gallery.

Now to come to a gem of Allegri's art, the "Christ in the Garden," of Apsley House. A good replica of this, too, is in the National Gallery; but the Duke of Wellington's picture is, without dispute, to be accepted as the original. Christ kneels, in this little picture, in the garden of His Agony, and above Him in the air hovers a pitying and consoling angel. The light is fading out of the day, so that we can scarcely see the sleeping disciples, or the approaching band of soldiers led by Judas; but yet the last twilight lingers in the background behind the black stems of the trees on the hill-side.

Mengs wrote of this picture (in 1776): "At a first glance only Christ and the angel, with the brightness surrounding them, are distinguishable; a darkness as of night overspreads all the rest; on closer examination, however, one discerns infinite gradations of light and atmosphere. . . . The radiance of the Saviour's face lights up the picture. But this radiance comes from above, as if from Heaven, and is reflected from the Saviour on to the figure of the angel."

This lovely little picture, like so many others by

our artist, has its legend and its history of adventure. It was painted, says Lomazzo, when the artist, "having occasion to pay a bill of four or five scudi to an apothecary in his native city, painted him a 'Christ praying in the garden,' which he executed with the greatest care." Having been acquired by the Governor of Milan for King Philip IV. of Spain, it was found during the Peninsular War, after the battle of Vittoria, in the carriage of Joseph Buonaparte, when it was captured by the English troops. The Duke of Wellington presented it to its true owner, the King of Spain, who, not to be outdone in generosity, returned the painting to the English leader; and at Apsley House this gem of Correggio's religious paintings has since remained.

A little later in its date (probably 1524-26) is the beautiful "Magdalen kneeling before Christ" of the Prado Gallery of Madrid, called often by its name of "*Noli me tangere*" ("*Touch me not*; for I am not yet ascended. . . "). Vasari had mentioned it twice, calling it "a very beautiful thing, fine and mellow in execution"; and from the collections of Cardinals Aldobrandini and Ludovisi it had passed into that of Philip IV. of Spain.

We may take this, then, to be the original mentioned by Vasari at Bologna, even in the face of Dr. Julius Meyer's doubts. It is that moment depicted here when she has turned with a passionate gesture of devotion, with the one expressive word on her lips: "Rabboni—which is to say Master!"

And Jesus is speaking to her now: "Touch me not," He says, "for not yet am I ascended to my Father. But go unto my brethren, and say unto them: I go

hence to my Father and to your Father, to my God and to your God." And the fair penitent who appears so often in Correggio's creations is nowhere more lovely and impassioned than here. For as we approach now the ripest period of Allegri's genius, there comes to meet us a succession of masterpieces, of which this and the beautiful "Marriage of S. Catherine," of the Louvre (a little earlier in date—about 1522), may serve as forerunners.

We have seen that Correggio had already treated this subject; but here the treatment is richer, more complete, in accord with the later level of his development. Once only in later art the subject has been equalled, and that was in the masterpiece by his follower Parmigiano ("Sposalizio di S. Caterina"), now in the Parma Gallery.

Seated, within Correggio's picture, in His Mother's lap, the little Christ takes in His dimpled baby fingers the beautiful hand which S. Catherine extends to Him with the ring upon the betrothal finger. Above her S. Sebastian looks with a smile at the scene, the arrow of his martyrdom in his hand; and the two martyrdoms in the spreading landscape behind, a beautiful slope planted with great trees, are so reduced in scale from the distance that they are scarcely apparent. Vasari said of this picture: "The hands are of such extraordinary beauty that they seem to have been modelled in Paradise"; and Gautier later wrote: "The action produces the most beautiful group of hands ever brought into the centre of a picture. They seem to be fashioned of lilies, so fine, delicate, and aristocratic are the tapering fingers with the uplifted tips." Already

Anderson photo]

[*Parma Gallery*

THE MARRIAGE OF S. CATHERINE
(*By Parmigiano*)

a wide difference seems to separate this from the earlier, simpler "Marriage of S. Catherine" (1518) of Cav. Fabrizi's collection, which I have mentioned in chap. v.; but this was undoubtedly the work which Vasari mentions, and which Girolamo da Carpi so admired, "a large picture, a most divine work, in which our Lady holds the Child, who espouses S. Catherine, while they are attended by S. Sebastian." It came from Cardinal Barberini's collection in 1650 to that of Cardinal Mazarin, and thence into the Louvre.

The "Reading S. Catherine," of the Hampton Court collection, is a very lovely work, though not of the first class in importance; and is to be compared with the less certain but beautiful "S. Margaret," of the Dresden Gallery.

The Hampton Court picture has, however, never been questioned. It represents a young girl reading, —the type of the delicate, half-smiling, oval face being characteristic of Allegri's later female saints and Virgins.

Here we are very close to the four masterpieces to which I have already alluded; it would not be too much, indeed, to include with them—making them five instead of four pictures — the "Madonna with S. Sebastian" (1525-26), of the Dresden Gallery; for this is certainly one of the most beautiful of Correggio's later altar-pieces. The Madonna is enthroned among the clouds with the Child Jesus in her arms; on her right S. Sebastian, a lovely adolescent figure, looks up to the Virgin-queen, though his hands are bound with rope to the stake; beneath him S. Geminianus, in white surplice and golden cope, points upwards also to the Madonna, and S. Rochus, in the other corner, in his

pilgrim's dress of blue and orange, seems to slumber, or, it has been suggested, may be dying of the plague caught by him from those he had tended at Placentia.

And most lovely here are the "putti," the child angels whom the artist has designed with the greatest freedom; one, a little girl, beneath S. Sebastian's feet, upholds the model of a church, probably the cathedral of Modena; another, the loveliest chubby naked baby boy, is riding on the clouds beneath the Madonna with evident enjoyment, an attitude which once gave the nickname of "The Riding School" to the picture; and two other draped elder angels are in the clouds, in attitudes of worship beside the central group of the Virgin and Child.

This beautiful work was painted in 1525 for the Brotherhood of S. Sebastian (apparently an archery company) in Modena; it was obtained by Duke Alfonso of Modena for his gallery in 1659, and sold later to Augustus III., King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, coming thus into the Dresden collection in 1746. The painting has been considerably retouched, the shadows, which we have seen to be Allegri's greatest glory, having been roughly treated; and it seems to have been damaged in its journey, and restored at Dresden. Yet, even so, the beautiful S. Sebastian, the group of the Virgin and Child, even those delicious "putti,"—to which one critic makes exception, asserting that "the actions of the infant angels border on the ridiculous,"—make this picture one to which we always turn with delight at Dresden. Taking, therefore, this picture in particular and its date of 1525 as the beginning of a last and most delightful creative period with our artist, the four great works which we shall

Alinari photo] [*Parma Gallery*

THE MADONNA OF S. JEROME

Alinari photo] [*Parma Gallery*

THE MADONNA OF S. JEROME
(DETAIL)

now take in their order are (1) the "Madonna with S. Jerome" (called "*Il Giorno*," 1527-28); (2) the "Madonna della Scodella" (1529-30, both these in the Parma Gallery); (3) the "Nativity" (called "*La Notte*," Dresden Gallery, also finished in 1530); and (4) the "Madonna with S. George" (Dresden Gallery, 1530-31).

These four are certainly among the greatest of Correggio's altar-pieces, and perhaps the finest of them all is the first, the "Madonna with S. Jerome," of the Parma collection. The Italian name, "The Day" ("*Il Giorno*"), comes from the radiancy of clear, glad colour and light with which it is filled, and is perhaps the best description of its beauty. The Madonna is seated with the Child upright in her lap; on her right are S. Jerome and an angel; on her left the little S. John and the kneeling Magdalen. No creation of Allegri's genius has perhaps ever equalled in pure beauty this figure of the Magdalen; a lovely blonde, she leans forward, resting her soft cheek caressingly against the little Saviour's side, whose dimpled hand just touches her long falling tresses of golden hair. Behind her the S. Giovannino, one of Correggio's roguish urchins, is sniffing the contents of her jar of ointment, and opposite to him the sunburnt form of S. Jerome contrasts with those other delightfully cool pearly flesh-tones, which seem to flood the canvas with a note of their glad colour.

Technically this seems indeed the most perfect of all Allegri's creations. Two points in it struck me, especially, when watching it within that quiet little room of the Parma Gallery, one being the marvellous

transfusion and clear quality of the flesh-tints, which range from the coolest pearly tones up to the stronger note in the sunburnt form of the upright S. Jerome; the other being the painting of the hair, in which Correggio always excelled, but which here reaches its perfection of rendering—in the brown hair that frames the Virgin's oval face, in the fair baby curls of the little Jesus, most of all, however, in the golden unbound hair of the Magdalen, which flows down over her shoulders as she rests her head caressingly against the Child, and gives a quality of radiance, as of sunlight or of gold, to the whole beautiful picture.

We can understand Vasari's enthusiasm as we look at this perfect work, which he calls "coloured in a manner altogether marvellous and stupendous" ("*colorita di maniera maravigliosa e stupenda*"); and we are not surprised at Algarotti's confession, that before this work he almost broke his faith with Raphael, and exclaimed to the Master of Parma,—"Thou alone pleasest me!" ("*Tu solo mi piaci*"). There may be some to whom the "Madonna della Scodella" is preferable, another masterpiece of this Parma Gallery; but it is not, to my mind at least, to be compared with the "Giorno," though a work of the master's supreme period and certainly of great beauty. The scene has been taken from the apocryphal Gospel, which relates that, when the Holy Family in their journey to Egypt were weary and thirsty, a palm tree bent down of its own accord to offer them its fruit, and beneath their path the earth opened to disclose a fountain. But here it is a swarm of angels who bend down the tree, half-hidden by the clouds among its branches: while the little Jesus,

Anderson photo} {*Parma Gallery*

HEAD OF ANGEL IN THE MADONNA OF S. JEROME

already a grown child (it must be the return journey from Egypt which is depicted), receives the fruit which S. Joseph hands down, and turns at the same time towards his mother, who holds the cup which gives the picture its best known name.

The picture is fairly well preserved, and we owe it to the exertions of Sig. Ricci that it has now been put back in its original beautiful frame with the inscription on its base: *Divo Joseppo Deiparae Virginis custodi*,—etc., and the date, *Die ii Junii Mdxxx.*, this being the date of its erection in S. Sepolchro of Parma. And there it had remained untouched, despite the efforts of a Carmelite friar in 1754 to sell it, till it was included in the French booty in 1796. It returned with the other paintings to the Parma Gallery early in 1816. Near it now in this same gallery are two frescoes which possess some interest—the "Annunciation," and the "Madonna della Scala." The former, a lunette,—painted for the church of the Padri dell' Annunziata, which was demolished in 1546,—has suffered greatly in its changes of places, and the last removal in 1875 seems to have almost given it the *coup de grâce.* But the "Madonna della Scala" is of attraction from the beauty of attitude of the Virgin and Child, where she bends over him as he turns away from her to glance timidly at the spectator, and is also interesting from its history; for Vasari tells us that Correggio had painted over the gate of the city "a Madonna which won great praise from the travellers who passed," and this seems to have been the work in question. When the gate in question was destroyed, in the reconstruction of the defences by Paul III., the fresco was probably preserved;

it reappears in 1812 in the Palazzo della Pilotta, and is here before us, though sadly wrecked, in the Parma Gallery.

The "Nativity," called "*La Notte*," or "The Holy Night," now within the Dresden collection, seems to have been ordered in 1522, and the written agreement still exists by which (October 10, 1522) Alberto Pratonero of Reggio stipulates that he shall have from Correggio's hand a work representing the "Birth of Christ" with other figures, "the whole to be done excellently well." This was when the S. Giovanni frescoes were still in progress, but it was not finished till 1530, so that it must have been in the studio at the same time as the "Giorno." The picture, however, became too valuable in later years to be left altogether at rest in the little church of S. Prospero at Reggio. The powerful family of the Estensi had for some time tried by negotiation to obtain it; and, finding this slower method fail, Duke Francesco seems to have carried it off from the church in May of 1640, and taken it to Modena, thence with other pictures from the Modenese collection to pass later into the hands of the Elector of Saxony. The picture, as we have seen, was slowly and carefully finished. The original sketch for the composition is in the British Museum, and a comparison with the finished picture shows us very many points of difference.

We have seen already how Allegri's excellence lay in the diffusion of light, even within the shadows; but here he has aimed at something rather exceptional. The whole light is to radiate from the body of the little Christ, which "beams in the midst like a star," and

Hanfstaengl photo] [*Dresden Gallery*

THE HOLY NIGHT

hence a very strong contrast of light and shadow is necessarily brought into other portions of the picture. The Mother holds within her arms the divine Infant, and looks down with pride at His tiny form; and from that form there issues the wonderful light that falls first on the sweet, adoring Mother, then on the shepherds—men and peasant girls, who gaze with open, wondering eyes—that reaches the S. Joseph in the background where he is tethering the ass, and strikes at last up to the moving limbs and glad forms of a group of angels who float, as in service, in the clouds above.

In their boldness of foreshortened movement, these angels carry our thoughts back to those of the cupola, and to those also who appear within the palm-tree of the Scodella painting. But those of the "Notte" are most lovely in their conception, as, whirling swiftly in their aërial motion, they look down with smiles to that happy scene of adoration, where the radiancy of light is from the Christ Child himself.

Yet it is curious to find that in his last work Correggio goes back to the simplicity of his first conceptions, to the composition of his first success, the "Madonna of S. Francis"; for the "Madonna of S. George" (Dresden Gallery) is the last of this series of superb altar-pieces, which seems to commence with the year 1525, and of which Dr. Thode says: "They are all directed to the glorification of Mary with the Child, and each single one of these pictures is a song of rejoicing, which proceeds from a feeling always similar, but always tuned to some different strain."

And here especially it is in the modulation of light,

that quality *par excellence* of our artist, that he seeks again to excel.

The work was painted (1530-31) for the oratory of S. Peter Martyr at Modena; and in the little bistre drawing for it, in the Dresden Gallery, the frame with its Doric columns is also introduced. In 1649 it was seized by Francesco I., and passed later to the Dresden collection. And if this picture, painted probably within his old home at Correggio, where he had now returned, shows more simplicity than others we have studied, there is no sign here of failing power. His splendid colour, his mastery of hand, his breadth of treatment—these qualities still remain; the whole picture swims in that lucidity of light, which he obtained with infinite pains by successive layers of glazes. And here is a masterpiece of his method, of his science of *chiaroscuro*, for within this picture the atmosphere seems to throb with clear, tremulous light. Madonna is enthroned beneath an arch, with SS. George and Peter Martyr, SS. John Baptist and Geminianus at her side.

S. John is a glorious adolescent youth, laughing, and fair of form, a living embodiment of those qualities which have made men call this artist the "Faun of the Renaissance." More serene, more nobly heroic is the S. George, his right hand grasping the spear, his left resting on his hip, his foot planted on the monstrous head of the slain dragon; and around his knees are these naked child-angels, among the loveliest of Allegri's lovely "putti," of which the painter Reni once asked a citizen of Modena,—"if Correggio's 'putti' at S. Pietro Martere, had grown up and left their places where he

Tamme photo] [*Dresden Gallery*

THE VIRGIN WITH S. GEORGE AND SAINTS

had seen them, for so vivid and life-like were they that it was impossible to believe they could remain."

The whole picture is thus, indeed, just such a pæan of rejoicing, "*ein jauchzender Gesang*," as forms a fit ending for this painter of heavenly joy, in this last of his many lovely altar-pieces. For now he disappears from our view; the history of his work, which always is that of his life, ceases suddenly; and in the first spring days of 1534, within his little home at Correggio, he must have passed away.

CHAPTER IX

MYTHOLOGICAL PAINTINGS

AMONG the great princely families of Emilia in the Renaissance period were the Gonzaghi of Novellara.

A branch, apparently, of the ruling house of Mantua, they were rather on a level with such lesser lordships as the Pio family at Carpi, the Correggeschi at Correggio, the Torelli at Guastalla, and the Rossi at Torchiara. Francesco Gonzaga had been famed as a wise ruler, and as the friend of S. Bernardino, who visited him in his home; and at Novellara the castle of these Gonzaghi may still be found.

Here tradition said that Correggio himself had come to work; and, in fact, from accounts of the market-inn at Novellara, it would seem that from the town of Correggio had come in 1514 "the Masters Antonio and Latino, the painters, and their followers." They were said to have decorated a cabinet for Madonna Costanza da Correggio, the bride of Alessandro Gonzaga; and a fragment of the frescoes of this cabinet—the central medallion transferred now to canvas—is preserved in the Gallery of Modena. It represents "Ganymede carried away by the eagle," a naked boy with long loose hair and flying mantle, who rests, in a foreshortened position, upon the neck and wings of the royal bird, that

holds in its talons his left knee and right ankle. He seems still asleep, in spite of his sudden aërial journey. In the background Jupiter, still more foreshortened, is apparently interested in seeing his commands carried out; and the female figure in the car behind we may take to be the goddess Venus. Ricci has pronounced against the work (of which I myself only judge now from photographs) in a very decided manner. It is unquestionably, he says, by a painter who had studied Correggio, but also by one who had studied Giulio Romano in his work at the Palazzo del Te at Mantua, painted between 1532-34; and he suggests as the painter Lelio Orsi (1511-87) of Novellara.

Another mythological work which Sig. Ricci treats with more consideration, but of which I myself am equally doubtful, is the "Piping Faun or Shepherd," of the Munich Gallery. A boyish figure, like the Ganymede, like him, too, nude, save for the loose cloak about his shoulders, he is seated on a bank beneath the trees with his pipe—like that which Giorgione's lovely shepherd lad at Hampton Court is playing—pressed to his lips; to his right a kind of lute is resting, and behind the trees a charming little valley opens to our sight. The whole character of the work is decidedly Venetian; so much so that Mündler has suggested Palma Vecchio as its author, and Morelli, supposing it Venetian, put it down to Lorenzo Lotto. I have considered it myself elsewhere as an early work of Correggio, painted 1512-14, following then Morelli's later judgment, in which he recognised (in the hair especially, and the drapery) certain characteristics of the master. I am still, however, far from convinced on

this point. It has nothing in it really akin to all those other works of Correggio which I have studied; it is, to my mind, far more allied to the art of Venice, and of those craftsmen of Treviso, Brescia, and Bergamo, whom the sea-queen brought within her magic circle.

So that the first really authentic and certain classical creations of Allegri would in this case be those frescoes (1518) of the Camera di S. Paolo, where the Diana mounting her chariot drawn by stags is indeed a goddess; where the little Loves are radiant with riotous sense of life; and in the lunettes, the figures and scenes of heathen legend are treated with all the freedom of an exuberant fancy.

And now we come to two authentic and very beautiful works, both taken from classic mythology—the "Education of Love," of the National Gallery, and the "Antiope," of the Louvre. Just as in the Camera di S. Paolo the Fates are winged, so here, on the shoulders of Venus, the wings are just visible: she stands upright, a very beautiful nude figure, and extends her right hand towards the little Cupid, who is very busily engaged. He is being taught his letters by Mercury; the god is seated and holds against his side a scroll; he bears the winged cap on his head, and sandals on his feet. "We are present," says Ricci, "at a little domestic incident of that happy interlude, when Mercury found favour with the goddess, and made her the mother of Hermaphroditus. Cupid could not have found a better master! . . . The Cupid, with his budding wings and fair curls, is the most dainty passage in the composition." And Raphael Mengs, many years earlier, had said of this last figure: "His little wings are those of

Neurdein frères photo] [*Louvre, Paris*

JUPITER AND ANTIOPÉ

newly-fledged chickens, which show the growth of the sprouting quills and the skin below. Whenever Correggio painted wings he showed the same mastery in their treatment, incorporating them so naturally with the flesh that they seem part of the acromion."

This is, indeed, a masterpiece of Allegri's earlier art, for it seems to have been painted in 1521-22. It had been acquired by Charles I. for his collection from the Duke of Mantua together with the "Antiope," and was sold with his other pictures after the king's death by order of the Parliament. It went then to Spain, and came back to the London collection from the Marquis of Londonderry, with the "Ecce Homo" already mentioned. The "Antiope," after it left England, was bought by the banker Jabach, and passed from him to Cardinal Mazarin, and thence to King Louis XIV. and to the Louvre. A study for this reclining figure is in the Windsor Library, while a study for the Mercury's head in the London picture is in the Uffizi at Florence. In the Louvre painting the nymph is lying asleep, and her head is thrown back, with the lips just a little parted, as if in some delicious dream; behind her, Jupiter himself, in the guise of a young Faun or Satyr, uplifts the drapery from her dazzling form, and a little Cupid (his toil now over) lies curled in slumber at her feet.

In his mastery of flesh-painting here our master has excelled himself. With this lovely sleeping "Antiope," of the Louvre, the intense radiance of her white form seems to shine out from every other painting, even in the Salon Carré. The warm flesh seems to quiver, to palpitate before our eyes; even at a distance

the wonderful brilliancy fixes itself upon our notice, though the pose of the fore-shortened figure is somewhat difficult, and has never seemed to me entirely satisfactory as to drawing. What Dr. Thode says generally of these classical pictures, that Correggio here seems to steep his artistic perception in the delight of the soft roundings of the figure and the clear radiance of the undraped human form, seems most true of this one. "If he had already in his creations of Christian art, so far as it came in his way, withdrawn the drapery from the figures, in order to show unveiled the forms of the body in their pure splendour and in the rich play of light, now the antique subject, in its artistic desire, came itself to meet him on this path. The Antique is for the artist of the Renaissance equivalent to the Nude, to the freest comprehension of what is purely human. What Mantegna had set forth with inspiration in his ideal pictures, his scenes of fancy for the studio of Isabella Gonzaga, and his mythological engravings; what that noblest proclaimer of Christian ideas, Raphael, had himself without hindrance interpreted out of the heathen world of legend in the Villa Farnesina; what, finally, Michelangelo had declared as his highest ideal, nay, more as an artistic necessity—the presentment of the naked form—to that Correggio now must turn with his whole being, and find in it his fullest contentment."

Certainly he was a master of flesh-painting—above all in his treatment of light, of delicate transparency of shadow—such as the world has seldom known before or since. That he continues to show in those three later paintings, all drawn, like the "Antiope," from the

Hanfstaengl photo] [*National Gallery, London*

THE EDUCATION OF LOVE

wandering loves of Jupiter. These three pictures, the "Leda," "Io," and "Danaë" (all 1530-33), form a definite group in Correggio's mythological work, just as do the two earlier, the "Venus, Mercury, and Cupid," and the "Antiope" (1521-22). The pictures before and after these two groups are all to some extent uncertain, and not markedly characteristic, while these five pictures have all the proofs of Correggio's hand. The last three paintings belong to the period when Allegri had returned to his native town of Correggio, disheartened perhaps, I have said, by his wife's death, perhaps too by adverse and unjust criticism.

Duke Federigo II. of Mantua had commissioned from Allegri certain mythological paintings, among which Vasari mentions a nude Leda and a Venus, "the carnations so mellow in colour, so delicately shaded that they seemed like the flesh itself." The writer seems in this description to confuse two with three paintings and to refer to the "Leda" (Berlin Gallery) the "Io" (Vienna—a replica in the Berlin Gallery), and the "Danaë" (Villa Borghese).

Certainly Vasari alludes very clearly here to the "Danaë": "in the picture," he says, "were also some Cupids, trying their arrows on a touchstone, to see which were of gold and which lead, all very skilfully rendered"; and either to the "Io," or "Leda," when he adds, "a further charm was given to the Venus by a clear and liquid stream of water, flowing among stones and bathing her feet."

Correggio's treatment of the story of Leda yields to none in its charm: he has imagined the whole scene of Queen Leda and her maidens bathing in the stream,

and invaded suddenly by a flock of white swans, while behind them the Eros, a winged youth, touches his lyre to some note of passion. Like the artist's other paintings of this period,—like the Io, who bends back her delicate head and upturned lips to the kiss of the god-encircling cloud, like the Danaë, uprising from her midday rest, to whom some young-winged Eros has come as messenger of the will of Zeus,—so this picture-poem seems set to the same melody, the song which Love is singing beneath the great trees in the coolness and beauty of that summer day, when beside the Eurotas in old Lacedaemon the gods yet walked on earth, and life seemed to yield moments of entire and unalloyed sweetness. That seems something of the motive which runs through these beautiful dreams of classic legend.

Less authentic, or certainly far less interesting, are the two canvases painted on tempera in the Louvre collection, which are yet considered among the latest of the works undoubtedly by Correggio's hand. They seem to have been originally in Isabella d'Este's collection; they passed later into that of Charles I. of England, and came later still into the hands of Louis XIV.

Thus their provenance seems to have been fairly established, and, for the most part, unquestioned — though Morelli raised considerable doubts as to the genuineness of the replica of one of them, the "Virtue," in the Doria-Pamfili gallery at Rome. To me they have never seemed strongly typical of Correggio, whose genius, daring always in its innovation, turned more willingly to realism than to the presentment of abstract qualities.

[*Villa Borghese, Rome*

DANAË AND EROS

For these paintings depict "Virtue" and "Vice"; the latter, a naked bearded man, surrounded by three female figures, one of whom (perhaps *Pleasure*) sounds a pipe very close to his ear, another (Mengs suggested for this, *Conscience*) set scorpions loose on him, a third (? *Habit*) binds him with cords. But "Virtue" is a figure of a young girl, armed, a type of real beauty, whom a winged genius crowns with a wreath, while others making music fly downwards from the sky. The unfinished study of the Doria-Pamfili, which I have just mentioned, follows the same composition; but here the figure of the seated Virtue is nude. Certainly the work is very characteristic of the school of Parma, and recalls some of the followers of Allegri.

Not so much can be said for the "Ganymede" of the Vienna gallery, which seems to be a reproduction in pose and movement of a youthful angel in Parma cathedral—that one in the pendentive who is immediately below S. Bernard. The similarity is so close, even in the drapery, that it seems certain the one was taken from the other; but the movement, which is correct in the one case, scarcely allows for the upward strain in this figure, which is carried by the bird.

Most unlikely it is that the master, his mind always teeming with fresh suggestions of lovely form—at home, too, in every attitude of possible foreshortening—would thus yield to tame repetition of himself. It is more probably by some clever pupil or imitator.

At this time Correggio himself must have been engaged on some drawings for Duke Federigo Gonzaga, since after the painter's death we find the duke

(September 12, 1534) asking the governor of Parma to recover for him these missing cartoons, since "they are mine," he says, "and no one else has any right to them." The subject seems to have been the same as those three pictures just mentioned, since they dealt with the "Loves of Jupiter," or they might even be designs for these pictures; but, in any case, they seem to have been never recovered.

For in those first spring days of March, in 1534, Antonio Allegri had passed away within his little home at Correggio. He had already lost his wife Girolama; of the four children she had given him, one only, Pomponio Allegri, was a son, and disposed to follow his father's profession; but he remains an indifferent and mediocre artist, and is of little interest for our research. More interesting it is to pose the question, In what consisted this new message which Correggio had given to Renaissance painting? Yet the answer has already crossed our path of inquiry in these pages. As a draughtsman men had sometimes found fault with him. Vasari accuses him indirectly of a want of thoroughness in this respect; Lodovico Dolce says plainly, "He was a better colourist than draughtsman."

But in his mastery of colour he remains always unsurpassed. His it was to paint flesh entirely luminous with light: to paint shadows which are cool, clear, opalescent; to create figures bathed, as Gautier said, in cloudy, vaporous contours; to form a new type of beauty — as smiling as summer sunlight; to combine this magic of colouring, of chiaroscuro, of wanton loveliness of tone, into one harmony, which is unique within

Italian art. For as none had preceded him within his chosen path in art, so none after came to reach him, though many sought to follow. Within his own realm, Correggio remains alone; unique in his gift of genius, and supreme.

In a sense it might then be said, to speak with exactness, that Correggio's early death, in 1534, left no real successor to his art; for that art was always an expression of his individual temperament, and those even who directly followed him remained always apart from the master himself. Especially true is this of his son, Pomponio, and we get nearer to the master in such artists as Francesco Maria Rondani and Michelangelo Anselmi, who were employed by him at Parma as his pupils; nearer still in that touch of real genius which is possessed by the wayward but brilliant Francesco Mazzola, who is better known as Parmigianino.

Among his religious paintings the altar-piece of the "Virgin appearing to S. Jerome" (National Gallery), and the "Madonna del Collo Lungo" (of the long neck) of the Pitti Palace are among the best known: but I must give the preference myself to his "Marriage of S. Catherine," in the Parma Gallery,—a subject which Correggio had often treated, but which here his follower treats with as much distinction and beauty of type as even the master himself.

Another artist of Parma, Girolamo Mazzola-Bedoli, had married Caterina, the daughter of Parmigiano's uncle, Pier Ilario Mazzola, and thus had come into close connection with the Mazzola family.

His masterpiece is the "Conception," of the Parma Gallery, a work of great beauty. Most beautiful, too,

is the figure of Parma, an armed girl, embracing the young Alessandro Farnese, in the Naples Museum, where, too, is his figure of S. Clara.

Technically, Correggio sums up the progress of Renaissance art in its mastery of *chiaroscuro.* Leonardo had attempted this, but never did even his "Sfumato" reach such delicacy of gradation as we see in the shadows of the "Giorno," of the "Virgin with S. George," or in those genii of the Parma cupola. It is the diffusion of light which is Allegri's secret here; the whole picture swims in this golden tremulous light, the shadows themselves are but a part of it. Had he lived to work out further this his message, instead of being thus early cut off from us, what wonders (we fancy) might not his art have yet revealed. Yet, also, surely it might have lost; for Allegri stood at the very dividing point of time, he rises at the crest of the great wave of art which is about to recede.

He lived at least long enough to express his ideal, to give his message to the world. This was his great good fortune, which no critic's envy, no turn of fashion, can ever take from him.

For just as a succeeding generation were excessive in their enthusiasm, so it is possible that a future turn of opinion might become blind to the Master's real abiding merits: but he will remain throughout the ages—a clear, pure, tremulous star to those who love, and themselves can feel, his vision of beauty.

Alinari photo] [*Parma Gallery*

THE "CONCEZIONE"
(DETAIL)
(*By Mazzola-Bedoli*)

CATALOGUE OF THE WORKS OF CORREGGIO

AUSTRIA—HUNGARY.

BUDA-PESTH GALLERY.

La Madonna del Latte. Madonna and Child with an angel. On canvas. 0.68 × 0.57 = 2 ft. 3 × 1 ft. 10. [No. 55.]

The Virgin, smiling, offers her breast to the little Jesus. He turns, however, to take the fruit offered Him by a winged angel.

Described by Ottonelli (*Tratto della Pittura*) in 1652. A replica on panel is in the Hermitage collection. This picture came from the Esterhazy collection into the Pesth Gallery.

VIENNA, BELVEDERE.

The Nymph Io embraced by Jupiter in the form of a cloud. 1.63 × 0.74 = 5 ft. 6 × 2.6. [No. 64.]

Io, a nude figure of great beauty, leans back beside an urn, while the vague form of the cloud bends over her.

Lomazzo mentions this "Io," as well as the "Danaë," as being at Milan in his time (*Trattato della Pittura*) in the possession of the sculptor Leoni, having been sent to him from Spain by his son Pompeo, who was employed by the Spanish Court. Graf Khevenkiller obtained this work from Pompeo Leoni, for his master the Emperor Rudolph, his letter on the subject (dated July 7, 1600) being still extant.

The "Io" is mentioned later by Tolmer as in the Schatzkammer at Vienna; in its wandering it had suffered damage, especially in the left hip of the nymph Io; the head, too, had to be restored by Prudhon in the Berlin picture. This of the Belvedere must be taken as the original, that of Berlin being only a copy.

GANYMEDE BORNE ON AN EAGLE TO OLYMPUS. On canvas. 1.63 × 0.71 = 5 ft. 6 × 2.4. [No. 59.]

A study for this is in the Weimar Museum—a pen drawing on bistre (*v.* Drawings). Ganymede soars upward clinging to the royal bird, who holds his clothes in his talons; his white dog looks upwards, and (as Mengs said) seems to strain after his master.

The picture has suffered damage. It came to Vienna probably from Spain, where it had been in the collection of the Secretary of State, Antonio Perez. Rudolf of Austria very possibly got this through Khevenkiller about the same time as the picture just mentioned. A picture of Correggio, "representing the Rape of Ganymede," is known to have been in the Schatzkammer in 1702.

BRITISH ISLES.

LONDON, NATIONAL GALLERY.

MERCURY INSTRUCTING CUPID IN THE PRESENCE OF VENUS. Entire figures, almost life-size. On canvas. 5 ft. 1 in. × 3 ft. [No. 10.]

This picture was once in the possession of Charles I., who purchased it from the Duke of Mantua in 1630. At the sale of the king's pictures it was bought by the Duke of Alva for £800. When the French invaded Spain it fell into the hands (1808) of Murat, and was then restored to Italy. It was bought, with the "Ecce Homo," by the Marquis of Londonderry; and from him both pictures were acquired (1834) for the National Gallery.

CHRIST, PRESENTED TO THE PEOPLE BY PILATE, called the "ECCE HOMO." Half-length figures of life-size. On wood. 3 ft. 2½ × 2 ft. 7½. [No. 15.]

The figure of Christ occupies the centre of the picture; behind Him, to left, is seen Pilate pointing to Him; on the right a Roman soldier's head appears. The Virgin appears swooning in the left foreground.

This picture came from the Conte Prati of Parma into

the Colonna Palace at Rome, and is mentioned by Rumohr (1784), and also by Mengs, as being in that city. It was purchased from the Colonna by Sir Simon Clarke, who sold it to Murat, the King of Naples; and from him it was purchased, with the "Education of Love," by the Marquis of Londonderry, and came to the National Gallery in 1834.

THE HOLY FAMILY, known also as the "VIERGE AU PANIER," and the "MADONNA DELLA CESTA." On wood. 1 ft. ½ in. × 10 in. [No. 23.]

This beautiful little work was in the royal collection at Madrid, and was given by Charles IV. to his minister, Don Emanuele Goday, the Prince of the Peace, at whose instance it was vigorously cleaned. After falling into various hands during the French invasion of Spain, it was brought to England by Mr. Buchanan in 1813, and purchased in 1825 from Mr. Nieuwenhuys for the National Gallery.

I follow in this Sir Fred. Burton's account. Dr. Julius Meyer's is slightly different.

GROUP OF HEADS. On canvas. 5 ft. × 3 ft. 6 in. [No. 7.]

Ten views of heads: part of a choir of angels.

GROUP OF HEADS. On canvas. 5 ft. 1 in. × 3 ft. 6 in. [No. 37.]

Nine views of heads; part of the same composition.

These two paintings were in Queen Christina of Sweden's collection; they passed into the Orleans collection later. They had come to Sweden as part of the plunder of Prague, when that city was captured in 1648, and the Kaiser Rudolph's pictures, as related earlier, were looted and carried north. From the Orleans collection these two works came to England, and were purchased by Mr. Angerstein.

CHRIST'S AGONY IN THE GARDEN. On Wood. 1 ft. 2 in. × 2 ft. 4 in. [No. 76.]

This is an old copy of the original, now in the Duke of Wellington's collection.

This particular picture formed part of the Angerstein collection, and was purchased for the National Gallery in 1824, apparently as an original, for £2000.

LONDON, THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S COLLECTION.

CHRIST IN THE GARDEN OF GETHSEMANE. On wood. A small picture. Very highly finished, 15 × 16 in.

Ricci calls this "a little gem." Christ, on the right of the canvas, is praying; an angel flies downward to Him. The picture is irradiated by a light from the figure of Christ; in the twilight of the distance the sleeping disciples and the approaching soldiers are scarcely visible.

Numerous copies exist—one at the Uffizi, another at S. Petersburg, a third in the National Gallery, which was bought as an original.

HAMPTON COURT GALLERY.

THE MADONNA WITH S. JAMES. [No. 276.]

The Virgin and Child with SS. James and Joseph.

A very lovely work of Correggio's early period (1515-17), showing perhaps the influence of Dosso. The type of Madonna and the grace of her attitude is most refined and beautiful. This painting was in Charles I.'s collection.

SAINT CATHERINE READING. [No. 281.]

A very charming head; to be compared with the school-picture of "Saint Margaret reading," in the Dresden Gallery. Date, perhaps 1526-8.

LORD ASHBURTON'S COLLECTION.

SS. MARTHA AND MARY MAGDALEN, WITH SS. PETER AND LEONARD. An altar-piece.

In 1517 a certain Melchior Fassi bequeathed his estate to the church of S. Quirino at Correggio, on condition that a chapel should be built, with an altar-piece representing SS. Peter, Leonard, Martha, and Mary Magdalen. We may conclude this to be the picture. Ricci dates it, however, 1514 (instead of 1518 as did Meyer), and says: "Morelli was the first to include this among Correggio's juvenile pictures, before the 'Madonna di San Francesco.'" We agree most absolutely with Morelli.

MR. R. H. BENSON'S COLLECTION.

CHRIST TAKING LEAVE OF HIS MOTHER BEFORE THE PASSION.

Christ kneels, His arms folded on His breast, before His mother, who falls back into the arms of the Magdalen, overcome with emotion. S. John watches the scene from behind.

Ricci considers this, "judging by the oval types of the heads, the flow of the draperies about the feet, the scanty perpendicular folds," to be a work of the same period as Cav. Crespi's "Nativity." The Ferrarese element is still visible here, pointing to this period. Lanzi describes this picture. It was at Milan at the end of the eighteenth century, when Abbé Bianconi wrote of it: "It has a very decided look of Correggio." It came then from a Sig. Rossi to the Parlatore family of Florence, and was obtained from the heirs of Prof. Parlatore through Mr. C. Fairfax Murray.

THE DUKE OF SUTHERLAND'S COLLECTION.

THE MULETEER. 26 × 36 in.

Said to have been painted as a sign for an inn; a horse and a mule with their driver.

This was exhibited in 1857. A doubtful work.

LORD ELLESMERE'S COLLECTION has a copy of the MADONNA DELLA CESTA.

MR. SIKE'S COLLECTION has a copy of the YOUTH FLEEING FROM THE CAPTORS OF CHRIST.

SIR F. COOK'S COLLECTION AT RICHMOND.

1. S. JEROME, WITH A DRAPED CHILD ANGEL WHO UPHOLDS A BOOK. Attributed to Correggio; certainly of his school.

2. HEAD OF ANGEL. Very doubtful.

3. Fragment of a Picture. Attributed to Correggio.

It has the following story :—

"This picture was taken from one of the public buildings by a French soldier at the sacking of Vigo, in Spain, during the Peninsular War. Taken prisoner by the English, he was examined by the officer of the guard, and this picture found concealed in his knapsack. He stated that, being struck with the beauty of the figures, he cut out the head and hand, as he was unable to conceal more of it. The officer purchased it, and it remained in his family till his death."

An Angel's Head. 19 × 19 in.

Two Angels' Heads. 20 × 20 in.

"This and the foregoing are two fragments of the celebrated fresco, the 'Coronation of the Virgin,' in the old apse of S. Giovanni at Parma, which the chapter removed in the last century for the purpose of enlarging the choir. They agree so entirely with the fragment of the picture of the 'Virgin crowned by Christ,' preserved in the Library at Parma, and also with the Angels in the 'Assumption of the Virgin,' in the cathedral at Parma, that no doubt of their originality can exist ; while to all lovers of this great master they are objects of the highest interest."

FRANCE.

PARIS, THE LOUVRE.

The Marriage of Saint Catherine of Alexandria. 1.05 × 1.02 = 3 ft. 6 × 3.4. [No. 1117.]

Vasari relates how Girolamo da Carpi, studying Correggio's works at Modena, was "perfectly stupefied by one in particular. This was a large picture, a most divine work, in which Our Lady holds the Child, who espouses S. Catherine ; they are attended by S. Sebastian." Venturi says it was painted for the Grillenzoni family of Modena, and remained in their hands till 1580. It was in Cardinal

Alinari photo] [*Biblioteca Reale, Parma*

THE VIRGIN CROWNED BY CHRIST

Barberini's collection in 1650, was given by him to Cardinal Mazarin, from whose heirs it was acquired for the Louvre collection.

THE ANTIOPE. 1.90 × 1.24 = 6 ft. 4 × 4.2. [No. 1118.]

"Antiope," a life-size nude figure, lies extended on a piece of drapery beneath the trees. A very beautiful study for this figure is in the Windsor collection.

This picture was bought by Charles I. of England from the Mantuan collection, and shipped to London 1628. After the execution of the king the Parliament sold this with his other art treasures, and it came into the hands of the banker, Jabach. Cardinal Mazarin bought it from him for 25,000 francs; on the Cardinal's death it was acquired by Louis XIV., and came into the collection of the Louvre.

AN ALLEGORICAL PAINTING OF "VIRTUE." On canvas, or linen; painted in tempera.

She is seated and armed, while winged figures descend to her from heaven.

AN ALLEGORICAL PAINTING OF "VICE."

He is lying at the foot of a group of trees. Three women, their hair entwined with serpents, stand around him. Mengs took them to mean "Conscience," "Habit," "Pleasure." Morelli questioned these paintings, which hitherto had been accepted generally. Both these paintings were in Isabella d'Este's collection, were bought (1628) by Charles I. of England, acquired, like the "Antiope," by the banker Jabach, and passed into the hands of Louis XIV. The "Virtue" had belonged also to Cardinal Mazarin.

GERMANY.

BERLIN, MUSEUM.

LEDA SURPRISED BY SWANS WHILE BATHING WITH HER COMPANIONS. On canvas. [No. 218.]

This was probably commissioned by the Duke of Mantua, together with the "Danaë," for a present to the Emperor Charles V.

It has been thought that these works remained in Italy till the taking of Mantua by the Imperialists (1630), but it seems now certain that both the "Leda" and the "Ganymede" were in the collection of Antonio Perez, and were acquired after the fall of that minister for Rudolf II. of Austria. It must have gone then to Prague, since it is mentioned there in 1821. At the capture of Prague by the Swedes (1648), the picture went to Stockholm, where it is mentioned in Queen Christina's collection. From other hands the paintings came, in 1772, into those of Philippe d'Orleans, Regent of France.

Louis the Pious, son of the Regent, was so shocked at these pictures that he cut out the heads of both "Io" and "Leda," and seems still to have sought further to mutilate the Leda; it was only through the painter Coypel that the two paintings escaped burning. Coypel sought to restore the heads, and the picture was, at his death, sold to Pasquier for 16,080 livres, and later (1775) to Frederick the great for 21,060 livres.

The picture has been cleaned, and a new head of poor Leda put on by Schlesinger. Date about 1530-32.

DRESDEN GALLERY.

MADONNA OF S. FRANCIS. Painted on wood panel. 2.99 × 2.45 = 9 ft. 10 × 8.2. [No. 151.]

This is the earliest authentic work by Correggio, and was painted for the price of 100 gold ducats for the Franciscans at Correggio in 1514-15 (finished April 1515). The Madonna is seated on a throne, with the Divine Child on her lap; on the left of the throne are SS. John Baptist and Catherine; on the right SS. Francis and Anthony of Padua. There are child angels in the clouds above; on the circle of S. Catherine's wheel the inscription, *Antonius di Alegris P.*

The picture remained undisturbed until 1638, when it was annexed by the Duke of Modena to his collection (to the great grief of the whole community of Correggio), a poor copy by Boulanger being substituted.

It was in the Este collection for nearly a century, until in 1746 it was sold, along with other works of Correggio,

to Augustus III., King of Poland and Elector of Saxony; and it has remained in the Dresden collection since, having been restored in 1877 by Palmaroli. The influence of the Ferrarese Lorenzo Costa, and of Mantegna also, appears in this work; perhaps, too, of Francesco Bianchi, who had settled in Modena about 1480.

MADONNA WITH S. SEBASTIAN. Panel. 2.65 × 1.61 = 8 ft. 10 × 5.6. [No. 152.]

The Virgin is enthroned on clouds surrounded by angels. Beneath are SS. Sebastian, Geminianus, and Rochus.

This beautiful altar-piece was formerly in the chapel of the Confraternità di San Sebastiano at Modena, being painted for that brotherhood in 1525; it was cleaned and restored by Palmaroli in the present century, but has suffered from the repainting and varnishing.

It had been acquired by Duke Alfonso of Modena in 1659, in exchange for a *copy* by Boulanger, and some paintings in the choir chapel. It came into the Dresden collection by sale in 1746. The whole transactions of these lords of Modena with owners of Correggio's pictures remind one forcibly of a similar business arrangement between the Wolf and the Lamb.

THE HOLY NIGHT, or "LA NOTTE." [No. 154.]

The Virgin and Child with S. Joseph, shepherds, and angels in adoration.

This picture was commissioned by Alberto Prospero of Reggio in 1522 for the church of S. Prospero at Reggio in the Emilia, but was not placed there, it seems, till 1530. The Dukes of Modena made frequent efforts to possess it, and finally in May 1640, carried it off secretly in the night, a proceeding justly described in a memorandum of the time as "*sacrilegium Francisci Ducis nostri jussu perpetratum.*"

A copy was given to the church as compensation. It is now one of the greatest treasures of the Dresden collection.

MADONNA WITH SAINT GEORGE. [No. 155.]

The Virgin and Child with SS. Peter Martyr, George, Geminianus, John Baptist, and youthful "putti" or child angels.

Painted for the brotherhood of S. Pietro Martire at Modena, and placed in their church about 1530-31. It was bought for the Ducal Gallery at Modena in 1648, and came thence to its present quarters with the "Nativity" (*La Notte*), and other pictures in 1746.

Painted in 1530-31, this is one of the last of Allegri's altar-pieces.

Pictures of less certain Authenticity.

THE READING MAGDALEN lying in a cave, her emblem, a vase, in the background. On copper. 0.29 × 0.39 = 11 in. × 15. [No. 153.]

This painting, for many years assigned to Correggio, is now considered by many critics to be by some Flemish artist. It has been argued that no Italian of Correggio's time painted on copper, that the technical treatment, the colours—especially the blue,—and form of the hands, are unlike Italian work of his period.

Numerous copies of this work exist elsewhere under Correggio's name, or as school-pictures (*e.g.* Palazzo Corsini at Rome).

PORTRAIT OF MAN IN BLACK, called "CORREGGIO'S DOCTOR." Panel. 0.82 × 0.69 = 32 in. × 27. [No. 156.]

Morelli emphatically denies Correggio's authorship; he considers Dosso more probable. Mentioned, however, in a letter of the Spanish ambassador in 1638, as a known work of Correggio. It came to Dresden from the Gallery of Modena; has been badly restored.

SAINT MARGARET READING. Half-length figure. Panel. 0.68 × 0.52 = 27 in. × 20. [No. 157.]

Considered a school-picture; but a very lovely figure, with much of Correggio's feeling. She holds a book in her right hand, a cross in her left.

From the collection of the Duc de Gallard in Paris, where it was known as "La Liseuse."

[*Dresden Gallery*

THE MAGDALEN READING IN A CAVE

SAINT GEORGE KNEELING BEFORE MADONNA. Canvas. 1.56 × 1.33 = 5 ft. 2 × 4.5.

Considered a school-picture by Morelli, and by the present director, Dr. Woermann. Said to be a copy of an altar-piece at Rio, near Correggio; but there is no authentic record of this painting.

FRANKFURT-ON-MAIN, STAEDEL GALLERY.

MADONNA WITH THE TWO CHILDREN. 0.90 × 0.70 = 3 ft. × 2.4. [No. 22.]

This has been supposed to be the Casalmaggiore Madonna—date 1517—which is known to have been at Modena after 1646. The Madonna here holds the two children—the Jesus and S. John—on her lap. This work was found by Dr. H. Thode at Milan.

At Lubeck a "Naked Boy" in the possession of Dr. Goedertz was considered by Rumohr as genuine.

MUNICH PINACOTHEK.

A PIPING FAUN OR SHEPHERD. A small picture. [No. 1094.]

This shows the figure of a naked boy, playing the pipes, and seated in a rich landscape. There is nothing to my mind at all typical of Allegri in this. Otto Mündler thought it a Palma Vecchio; Morelli, too, deemed it Venetian, but later found in hair and drapery certain traits of Correggio. Some doubtful works here have been ascribed to Allegri.

PRINCE LEOPOLD OF HOHENZOLLERN'S COLLECTION AT SIGMARINGEN.

VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH S. ELIZABETH AND THE LITTLE S. JOHN (1513-14).

ITALY.

FLORENCE, UFFIZI GALLERY.

THE HOLY VIRGIN ADORING HER CHILD. Half life-size. [No. 1134.]

The Virgin is kneeling in the act of adoring the Infant Jesus, who is lying on the ground upon the edge of her mantle. The background represents a portico, behind which a landscape is seen.

This painting was given by the Duke of Mantua to Cosmo II. de' Medici, and was placed in this gallery in 1617. Date about 1519. An old copy was formerly at Vienna.

THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT. On canvas. Diminished figures. [No. 1118.]

Madonna is sitting in the shade, holding the Child in her arms, while S. Joseph gathers some dates from a palm tree. S. Francis is seen kneeling before the Virgin.

This subject was painted for the Minorite church of S. Francesco at Correggio, but in 1638 this altar-piece disappeared, a copy by Boulanger being substituted.

THE HEAD OF S. JOHN BAPTIST ON A DISH, with a cross and papyrus bearing the inscription, "*Ecce Agnus*," etc. On canvas. [No. 1132.]

Taken from the Royal Villa del Poggio Imperiale.

THE HEAD OF CHILD OR ANGEL. (Perhaps copied from one of the Parma frescoes.) Above life-size. On paper.

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD SURROUNDED BY ANGELS. On wood. Diminished figures. [No. 1002.]

This precious little painting, in a perfect state of preservation, is still attributed to Titian in the official catalogue. It was Sig. Morelli who first established its attribution to Correggio, and it is now generally accepted as an early work of his of the very first importance. On its interesting affinities with Mantegna I have dwelt elsewhere.

Ricci says of this: "Morelli restored it to its rightful author" (*i.e.* Correggio).

Alinari photo] [*Uffizi Gallery, Florence*

THE VIRGIN ADORING THE INFANT CHRIST

MILAN, THE BRERA.

An interesting Adoration of the Magi has been quite recently added to this collection, from the collection of Cardinal Monti.

MILAN, MUSEO ARTISTICO MUNCIPALE.

The Bolognini Madonna. Transferred from canvas to panel. An early work; probably 1512-14.

The Virgin and Child with little S. John.

MILAN, CAV. BENIGNO CRESPI'S COLLECTION.

The Nativity.

The Virgin adoring the Infant Christ, with S. Elizabeth, the little S. John, S. Joseph, angels, and shepherds.

An interesting work of Allegri's early period (1513-14), which in London earlier was described as of the "School of Dosso": recognised now as a Correggio, but showing markedly Mantegnesque and Ferrarese elements.

MILAN, DR. FRIZZONI'S COLLECTION.

The Marriage of S. Catherine in the presence of SS. Francis of Assisi, Dominic, and Anne. A small panel; unfortunately much injured.

The enthroned Virgin holds on her lap the Infant Christ, who takes S. Catherine's fingers in one little hand, and offers with the other the ring.

Morelli says of this: "The modelling of the hands is still that of Lorenzo Costa, the vivacity of the colour recalls Mazzolino, but in the expression and attitude of S. Francis the future Correggio stands revealed."

This interesting little picture, which we must take as one of Correggio's earliest works (1512-14), was formerly in the Costabili Gallery at Ferrara.

MODENA, ESTE GALLERY.

The Campori Madonna.

An early work of great sweetness and charm. Virgin and Child. A small painting (date 1513-14).

Also in the gallery at Modena are

1. Fragment of a fresco of a painting representing GANYMEDE CARRIED BY THE EAGLE.

From the boudoir of Donna Costanza in the castle at Novellara of the Gonzaga family.

Fresco transferred in 1814 to canvas, and restored by Guizzardi of Bologna, and placed in the ceiling of a room in this gallery.

2. A NAKED BOY.

A fragment transferred to canvas from the fresco in the castle of the Gonzaghi at Novellara.

NAPLES GALLERY.

LA ZINGARELLA or the "MADONNA WITH THE RABBIT" (MADONNA DEL CONIGLIO).

The Virgin is seated on the ground in a forest glade, her hair bound, turban-wise, with a handkerchief. She stoops in a caressing attitude over the Child, who seems tired out. In the background a little rabbit peeps timidly at the group.

The "Zingarella" appears among the property of Ranuccio Farnese in 1587, and was left by him (in 1607) to his sister Margherita, a nun of the convent of S. Paolo at Parma. On her death it went back to the Farnese, and was removed with the rest of their collection to Naples in 1734.

The copies of this picture are very numerous.

THE MARRIAGE OF S. CATHERINE. Small figures.

Differs in composition from the Louvre picture of this subject.

It has been suggested that this was painted from the Louvre picture by Annibale Caracci. Three figures only, the Virgin, Christ, and S. Catherine, who bends close over the Christ to take the ring.

Replicas of this are in Sig. Fabrizi's collection (Rome) and Dr. Schall's (Berlin). Scannelli (1670) saw both this and the larger "S. Catherine" in the Parma collection at that date. I have taken these paintings of Berlin and Rome as earlier in date to the Louvre picture.

Studies for the Parma cupola (probably old copies) are here in the Museum.

Anderson photo] [*Brera Gallery, Milan*

THE ADORATION OF THE KINGS

PARMA GALLERY.

MADONNA DELLA SCODELLA, or "THE REST ON THE WAY FROM EGYPT." In oil, on wood. 2.18 × 1.37 = 7 ft. 3 × 4.6. (1, 350.)

The subject of this picture is taken from a legend in an apocryphal gospel, which relates that on the journey to Egypt, while the Holy Family were resting exhausted and hungry, a palm-tree bent towards them to offer its fruit, and the earth opened to disclose a fresh spring. The picture is in good preservation, and was probably painted originally for the church of S. Sepolchro at Parma, where it remained for 270 years.

ANNUNCIATION. Lunette, in fresco. 3.15 × 1.57 = 10 ft. 6 × 5.2. (2, 758.)

This fresco is in a very damaged condition.

MADONNA DELLA SCALA. In fresco. 1.10 × 1.60 = 3 ft. 8 × 5.4.

Vasari says that Correggio "painted over a gate of that city (of Parma) Our Lady, who has the Child in her arms, so that it is a wondrous thing to see the lovely colouring (*il vago colorito*) in fresco of this work, whence it won infinite praise and honour from the strangers who passed."

DEPOSITION, or PIETÀ. In oil, on canvas. 1.82 × 1.57 = 6 ft. 2 × 5.2. (5, 352.)

The painting was commissioned by the Benedictine Don Placido del Bono, confessor of Paul III., and placed by him in the chapel which he founded in S. Giovanni Evangelista at Parma. Date, perhaps, 1522-24. It remained in its place, till it was carried off with the French booty to Paris; returned to Parma after the treaty of 1815.

It is in good condition, has been cleaned, and perhaps a little retouched at Paris.

THE MARTYRDOM OF SS. PLACIDUS AND FLAVIA. In oil, on canvas. 1.82 × 1.57 = 6 ft. 2 × 5.2. (6, 353.)

The subject is the martyrdom of SS. Placidus, Flavia, Eutichius, and Vittorinus.

In the centre of the composition are the two saints, Placidus and Flavia, both kneeling, and beside them their two executioners. Placidus looks upward, expecting with serenity the blow which is about to descend; Flavia has already the sword buried beneath her right breast. Beside them the decapitated forms of SS. Vittorinus and Eutichius. Above, an angel flies down with the symbols of martyrdom.

MADONNA OF S. JEROME, called IL GIORNO. In oil, on wood. 1.41 × 2.05 = 4 ft. 8 × 6.10. (3, 351.)

A picture full of sunlight, of serene gaiety, whence its name of "The Day." It is to my mind the finest among all Allegri's altar-pieces.

The picture was commissioned in 1523 by a certain Donna Briseide Colla, wife of Orazio Bergonzi, who paid the painter for it 400 imperial lire—*i.e.* about £15. It remained in the church of S. Antonio at Parma over the altar for which it was painted, until the church was demolished. Many efforts were made to sell this precious work, and on the rumour that it had gone to the Dresden collection, the Municipality of Parma, alarmed for its safety, in 1749 placed it in the cathedral under the care of the chapter. It was, however, seized by Napoleon (1796), and carried to France, and the French in 1815 made great efforts to keep it, offering, it is said, even a million francs. It was, however, thanks to the exertions of Toschi, the great engraver, returned to Parma; and it has since remained in the Parma gallery.

Many copies exist: one in the Bridgewater collection attributed to Lodovico Caracci.

Note also in this gallery an assumed portrait of Correggio; seen almost full-face, with dark beard, black dress, white collar and cap, a rather sour unpleasant expression. In oil, on wood. 0.26 × 0.41.

It is rather a rough sketch in chiaroscuro than a finished portrait. It was given as a likeness of Correggio in the catalogue of Signora Angela Rossi Beccali's collection, sold to the Pinacoteca in 1851.

[*Vatican Gallery, Rome*

CHRIST IN GLORY IN THE CLOUDS
(*By Caracci*)

PAVIA, MUSEO COMUNALE.

THE MALASPINA MADONNA. A small picture.

The Virgin and Child, with S. Giovannino, SS. Elizabeth and Joseph.

ROME, BORGHESE COLLECTION.

DANAË. On canvas. 1.61 × 1.93 = 5 ft. 4 × 6.5.

She is seated, her figure half-raised from a couch, where Love, a winged youth, "*bello come un genio Greco*" (as Venturi says), is at her side, and seems to prepare her for the visit of Jove.

Vasari relates that Frederic, Duke of Mantua, commissioned this picture, as well as the "Leda," to be given as a present to the Emperor Charles V. According to one account the pictures were sent to Prague, and thence, in the Thirty Years' War, were captured and brought to Stockholm.

Venturi relates that Lomazzo (1580-90) mentions having seen the "Danaë" in Italy. Certainly the "Danaë" came later into the hands of Christina of Sweden, who brought it to Rome, and left it to the Cardinal Azzolini. Thence it passed to the hands of Don Livio Odescalchi, who sold it to the Duke of Orleans, Regent of France.

From the Orleans' collection it came to London into the Bridgewater collection, was sold to Henry Hope in 1816 for £183, was brought back to Paris in 1823, and sold for £285 to the Borghese, its present possessors.

ROME, CAV. PAOLO FABRIZI'S COLLECTION.

A small picture of the MARRIAGE OF SAINT CATHERINE. Date, 1518-19.

ROME, VATICAN GALLERY.

CHRIST SEATED ON THE CLOUDS.

He is seated full-face, with arms extended, the upper part of his body bare. Beneath, sheltering beside his robe, appear numerous boy angels.

RUSSIA.

ST. PETERSBURG, THE HERMITAGE.

A version of the MADONNA DEL LATTE above described; but here the fruit is offered to the Jesus by the little S. John. On panel. [No. 81.]

THE VENGEANCE OF APOLLO ON MARSYAS. [No. 82*a*.]
From the collection of Duke Litta of Milan.
A very doubtful work, though I cannot judge it personally.

SPAIN.

MADRID, COLLECTION OF THE PRADO.

MADONNA AND CHILD WITH LITTLE S. JOHN. From the Farnese Collection. $1.6 \times 1.2 = 5$ ft. 4×4. [No. 135.]

"NOLI ME TANGERE." $4.2 \times 3.4 = 14$ ft. $\times$ 11.4. [No. 132.]

The "*Noli me tangere*" is mentioned by Vasari, "a very beautiful thing, fine and mellow in execution": it was then belonging to the Hercolani of Bologna, and later was in the Escorial, presented by the Duke of Medina de las Torres. Dr. Meyer throws doubts on the authenticity of this Madrid picture, but Morelli, Ricci, Frizzoni, all accept it with conviction.

WORKS IN FRESCO

I

Vault of the Camera di San Paolo at Parma.

One room in this convent of S. Paolo is entirely filled with Correggio's work in fresco, as follows :—

Over the fireplace, "Diana in her car." Sixteen ovals in the vault filled with "putti," or naked boys, who hold bows and arrows, horns, lift up stags' heads, or play with great hounds. Sixteen lunettes beneath these "putti" in monochrome with the following subjects :—

1. The Graces. 2. Adonis. 3. Bonus Eventus. 4. The Earth, a seated female figure. 5. Juno Chastised. 6. A Vestal. 7. A Philosopher. 8. The Temple of Jupiter. 9. The Fates. 10. Ino Leucothoë. 11. Ceres. 12. A Satyr. 13. Chastity. 14. Virginity. 15. Fortune. 16. Minerva.

II.

Cupola of the Church of S. Giovanni Evangelista at Parma.

Ceiling. The aged S. John sees the Saviour ascending into heaven, surrounded by apostles and angels.

The Christ Himself—a very foreshortened figure—rises upward into the vault : around in a circle the apostles sit upon the clouds, grand figures in the prime of manhood, and joyous child angels connect the groups.

Frieze. Symbols of the Evangelists, among festoons.

Pendentives. Four groups : 1. S. Luke and S. Ambrose. 2. S. Mark and S. Gregory. 3. S. John and S. Augustine. 4. S. Matthew and S. Jerome.

Beneath, at the bases of the *soffiti* of the four great arches are eight subjects in monochrone : 1. S. Joseph and the Flowering Rod. 2. Moses and the Burning Bush. 3. Elijah

on the Fiery Chariot. 4. Daniel in the Furnace. 5. Jonah cast on the Shore by the Whale. 6. Samson carrying the Gate of Gaza. 7. Abraham's Sacrifice. 8. The Death of Abel.

He also decorated the tribune, the subject being the "Coronation of the Virgin." In 1586 the Benedictines commissioned the Bolognese Aretusi to make a copy of this fresco, and in 1587 the entire apse was demolished to enlarge the church.

Part of Correggio's fresco, however, is still preserved in the R. Biblioteca Palatina at Parma—*viz.* the central figure of Christ and the Virgin.

This group, and also two beautiful groups of angels' heads which appeared in the composition, were copied by the Caracci, and are now in the Parma Gallery.

CUPOLA OF THE PARMA CATHEDRAL. These frescoes were executed between 1526 and 1530. The cupola itself is filled with the great fresco of the "Assumption of the Virgin."

In the octagonal cornice above, in front of a simulated balustrade, the twelve Apostles stand, and gaze up at the ascending Virgin, and the crowd of spirits and angels who accompany her: beside the candelabra, which rise at each angle, beautiful youthful genii are busy bearing candelabra, and sprinkling incense on the flames. In the pendentives below, the master has painted four saints (SS. Hilary, Bernard, Thomas, and John Baptist), waited on by lovely youthful angels. Six putti are painted in monochrome on the *soffiti* of the arches.

MR. LUDWIG MOND'S COLLECTION IN LONDON.

Fragments of the original HEADS OF ANGELS from a fresco of the "Coronation of the Virgin" in the tribune of S. Giovanni Evangelista at Parma.

[*Parma Gallery*

ANGELS' HEADS
(*Copied by Caracci*)

DRAWINGS AND STUDIES

In considering Correggio's Drawings we have two things to remember:

First, that this master's Drawings are mostly mere hasty sketches—steps in the ladder by which the great work was reached, rapid notes of the pose of a single figure, or of some idea for a composition; they are the work of a painter whose utterance was found in colour; but, slight though they are, they are not without individual charm.

The second point is, that the master's genuine Drawings are rare, and that a mass of apocryphal work has been attributed to his hand. I have given a pretty full list here, but reliance cannot be placed on many of them.

AUSTRIA, VIENNA, ALBERTINA—17 Subjects.

VIENNA, COLLECTION OF ERZHERZOG FRANZ FERDINAND—3 Subjects.

BRITISH ISLES. LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM.—23 Drawings ascribed to Correggio.

THE DYCE COLLECTION AT S. KENSINGTON—5 Drawings ascribed to Correggio.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE'S COLLECTION AT CHATSWORTH—9 Subjects.

ROYAL COLLECTION AT WINDSOR—9 Drawings ascribed to Correggio.

FRANCE. PARIS: THE LOUVRE is very rich in Correggio's studies, containing about 20 Specimens.

CHANTILLY—4 Studies of heads of children.

LILLE—2 Studies.

GERMANY. BERLIN, HERR V. BECKENRATH'S COLLECTION—2 Studies.

DRESDEN GALLERY—8 Studies.

WEIMAR COLLECTION—6 Studies.

MUNICH GALLERY—7 Drawings:

ITALY. FLORENCE, UFFIZI GALLERY. On the left of the room of drawings at the Uffizi are seven Drawings in a case, ascribed to Correggio.

MILAN, AMBROSIANA—Several Studies.

MILAN, RESTA COLLECTION—2 Drawings.

ROYAL LIBRARY AT TURIN—1 Drawing.

INDEX

Adoration of the Kings, 135, *ill.* 136
Albinea, Altar-piece painted for the church of, 31, 57; extant copies, 31, 32
Allegri, Antonio. See Correggio.
Allegri, Caterina, 36
Allegri, Lorenzo, 13, 29
Allegri, Pellegrino, 13, 28
Allegri, Pomponio, 36, 121
Angels' Heads (copied by Caracci), *ill.* 142
Angels (in the cupola of Parma Cathedral), 88, *et seq.*, 142
Annunciation, The, 39, 107
Anselmi, Michelangelo, 82, 121
Antiope, 5, 114-117, *ill.* 114
Apostles and Child Angels, in S. Giovanni Evangelista, 72 *et seq.*, 141, *ill.* 74, 80
Apostles and Genii (in the cupola of Parma Cathedral), 90, 142, *ill.* 88, 90, 92
Araldi, his work at Parma, 61, 63, 64; lunettes and arabesques by, *ill.* 66.
Aretusi, Cesare, copy of Correggio's "Coronation of the Virgin" by, 79
Aromani, Bernardina Piazzola, Correggio's mother, 29
Aromani, Francesco, Correggio's uncle, 33, 36; his death, 37
Assumption of the Virgin, The (fresco in Parma Cathedral), 86-94, 142, *ill.* 94.

Bianchi, Francesco, 24, 26, 46; "Madonna with SS. Benedict and Quentin" by, *ill.* 46
Boulanger, Jean, copies of Correggio's pictures by, 31, 48, 58

Caracci, Annibale, his "Umanità di Cristo," 56; copy of Correggio's "Coronation of the Virgin," 78; his "Christ in Glory in the Clouds," *ill.* 138; copy of Correggio's "Angels' heads," 142, *ill.* 142
Charles V., visit to the Corregeschi, 41
Christ in Glory in the Clouds, by Caracci, *ill.* 138
Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane, 40, 99, 125, 126
Christ taking leave of His Mother, 25, 51, 127
Coronation of the Virgin, The, 78-81, 128 and *ill.*
Correggio, the "Faun of the Renaissance," 6, 110; legend of his poverty, 7-14; Vasari on, 8; influence of Mantegna on, 17-23, Ferrarese influence on, 24-26; his birth and parentage, 28, 29; commissioned to paint the "Madonna of S. Francis," 29, 30; altar-piece for Albinea, 31; visit to Mantua, 32; to Parma, 33; frescoes in San Paolo, 34, 35, 60-66; his marriage, 36; frescoes in S. Giovanni Evangelista, 37, 38, 69-77; frescoes in the Cathedral at Parma, 38, 39, 84-96; death of his wife, 39; purchase of land at Correggio, 40; work for Duke Federigo Gonzaga, 41; his death, 42; the "Madonna of S. Francis," 44-48; other early works, 48-52; transition period, 53; lost pictures by, 55-58; probable visit to Rome, 60, 71, 72; exaggeration of foreshortening, 73; the "Corona-

tion of the Virgin," 78-81; later religious paintings, 97-104; the four great altar-pieces, 105-111; mythological paintings, 112-120
Corregeschi, The, 14, 17, 18, 42, 112
Correggio, the artist's birthplace, 14; plague in (1511), 17; occupied by Spanish troops, 41
Costa, Lorenzo, court painter to the House of Mantua, 24; his influence on Correggio, 24-26, 48

Danaë, 5, 42, 117, 139, *ill.* 118
Deposition, 38, 98, 99, 137, *ill.* 98
Diana (frescoes in the convent of S. Paolo), 63, 76, 114, 141

Ecce Homo, 40, 99, 124
Education of Love, 114, *ill.* 116
Este, Isabella d', 14, 15, 24, 118

Fassi, Melchior, 52
Faun playing a Pipe, 25, 113, 133
Ferrarese Influence on Correggio's Art, 24-26, 46-48
Francesco I., Duke of Modena, 31, 48, 56, 57, 108, 110

Gambara, Veronica, 14, 17, 40, 41, 42
Ganymede carried away by the Eagle, 112, 119, 124
"*Giorno, Il.*" *See* "*Madonna of S. Jerome*"
Gonzaga, Duke, Federigo, 41, 117, 119
Gonzaghi, The, of Mantua, 7; Mantegna's work for, 19, 20, 22
Gonzaghi, The, of Novellara, 112

Herodias with the Head of S. John, 55
Holy Night, The, 40, 49, 105, 108, 131, *ill.* 108

Io, 42, 117, 123, 130

Landi, Ortensio, 9, 60
Landini, Pietro, 30, 45
Leda, 5, 42, 117, 118, 129-130

Madonna (Bolognini), 50, 135; (Campori), 50, 135; (Malaspina), 50, 139; (Sigmaringen), 22, 26, 50, 54, 133
Madonna adoring the Infant Christ (Uffizi), 68, 134, *ill.* 134
Madonna and Child (Parma Gallery), 25, (Frankfurt), 55
Madonna and Child with Angels (Uffizi), 22, 25, 49, 50, 134, *ill.* 50
Madonna della Cesta, 67, 68, 125, 127
Madonna della Scala, 39, 82, 107, 137
Madonna della Scodella, 40, 53, 105, 106, 137, *ill.* 54, 104
Madonna del Latte (Buda-Pesth), 67, 123; (Hermitage), 68, 140
Madonna of S. Francis, 12, 13, 20, 21, 25, 29, 44, 109, 130, *ill.* 44
Madonna of S. Jerome ("Il Giorno"), 5, 40, 55, 80, 91, 105, 138, *ill.* 104, 106
Madonna with S. George, 40, 54, 91, 105, 109-111, 131, *ill.* 110
Madonna with S. James, 53, 54, 126
Madonna with S. John, 54, 140
Madonna with S. Sebastian, 40, 103, 131, *ill. front.*
Madonna with the Rabbit ("La Zingarella"), 52, 53, 54
Magdalen, The (lost), 58
Magdalen reading in a Cave (Dresden), 132, *ill.* 132
Magdalen kneeling before Christ (Prado), 101
Manfredo, Prince of Correggio, 17, 37
Mantegna, influence of, on Correggio, 16, 17, 18-23, 46, 47, 49, 64, 65. His work for the Gonzaghi, 19, 20, 22
Mariani, Vincenzo, brother-in-law of Correggio, 29, 36
Marriage of S. Catherine (Louvre), 40, 66, 98, 102, 128 (Cav. Fabrizi, Rome), 67, 103, 139 (Dr. Frizzoni, Milan), 25, 48, 135 (Naples), 136

Marriage of S. Catherine by Parmigiano, 102 and *ill.*
Martyrdom of SS. Placidus and Flavia, 38, 98, 137, 138, *ill.* 98
Mazzola-Bedoli, Girolamo, 121, his "Conception" *ill.* 122
Mazzolino, 48, 49
Melozzo da Forlì, 18, 70
Mengs Raphael, on Correggio, 94, 100, 114
Merlini, Girolamo, marriage with Correggio, 36; her death, 39
Michelangelo, his frescoes in the Sistine, 93
Montino della Rosa, Scipione, 34, 61, 66, 86
Morelli, on Correggio, quoted 24, 25, 46, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53, 113, 118

Nativity, The (Cavaliere Crespi), 22, 25, 49, 135; (Dresden, "La Notte"), 40, 49, 105, 108, 131, *ill.* 108; (Brera), 49
"*Noli me Tangere*," 101, 140
"*Notte, La*," 40, 49, 105, 108, 131, *ill.* 108

Oehlenschläger, his tragedy "Correggio," 12

Parma, Frescoes in the Cathedral, 13, 18, 38, 39, 84-96, 142
Parma, Frescoes in the Convent of S. Paolo, 20, 33-35, 60-66, 141
Parma, Frescoes in S. Giovanni Evangelista, 37, 38, 66, 69-83, 141
Parmigiano, his "Marriage of S. Catherine," 102, and *ill.*
Piacenza, Donna Giovanni, Abbess of S. Paolo, 34, 61
Pietà, 38, 98, 137, *ill.* 98
Placido del Bono, Don, Correggio's work for, 38, 98
Pungileoni, 17, 100
Raphael, his influence on Correggio's frescoes in S. Giovanni Evangelista, 71, 82; his "Disputà," 71; his "Sibyls," 93
Repose in Egypt, The, 52, 53, 134, *ill.* 52
Ricci, Sig., on Correggio, 8, 11, 21, 30, 32, 51, 52, 53, 57, 72, 77, 98, 107, 113, 114
"*Riding School, The*," 104

S. Catherine Reading, 103, 126
S. John, figure of, in S. Giovanni Evangelista, 81, *ill.* 38
S. Margaret (Dresden), 103, 132
SS. Martha and Mary with SS. Peter and Leonard, 26, 51, 52, 126
SS. Peter and Paul (in the cupola of Parma Cathedral), *ill.* 70
SS. John and Augustine (in the cupola of Parma Cathedral), *ill.*, 72
Squarcione, influence of, 16
Symonds, J. A., quoted, 75, 92

Thode, Dr., quoted, 47, 55, 60, 65, 71, 82, 95, 109, 116
Titian, his praise of the frescoes in Parma Cathedral, 95
Torchiara, Bernardino da, 37
Toschi, Paolo, his reproductions of Correggio's frescoes, 74, 75

Vasari, on Correggio, 8, 9, 42, 60, 101, 103, 106, 107, 117
Venus, Mercury and Cupid, 117, 124
Virtue (Louvre), 119, 129
Vice (Louvre), 119, 129

Young Man fleeing from the Captors of Christ, 58, 127

Zuccardi, Quirino, 29, 44
"*Zingarella, La*," 52, 53, 54, 136

W. H. WHITE AND CO. LTD.
RIVERSIDE PRESS, EDINBURGH

ART PHOTOGRAPHS

PICTURES—SCULPTURE—VIEWS.

W. A. MANSELL & Co. Art Photograph Publishers and Dealers, have an immense collection of permanent carbon and other photographs of their own publication and culled impartially from the productions of the principal makers at home and abroad. They send photographs on approval for selection, can generally supply at once any subjects required, or procure them promptly, and willingly place the information which they have acquired during the past thirty years at the disposal of correspondents.

W. A. MANSELL & Co. Art Photographers, have had much experience in photographing pictures, drawings, or other objects of art. They are photographic printers in carbon, silver, or platinum; make enlargements; print copies from the negatives of amateurs; prepare illustrations for books; make lantern slides; and generally undertake any photographic work excepting life-portraiture.

W. A. MANSELL & Co. Practical Picture Frame Makers, by the introduction of artistic and suitable mouldings and frames, have materially contributed to the important position now held by photographs as wall decorations.

Address: W. A. MANSELL AND CO.

405, OXFORD STREET, LONDON, W.

Imperial 8vo. 2 vols. Buckram, £3 3s.

BRYAN'S DICTIONARY

OF

PAINTERS AND ENGRAVERS.

EDITED BY

SIR WALTER ARMSTRONG, B.A. Oxon,

OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY, DUBLIN,

AND

ROBERT EDMUND GRAVES, B.A. Lond.

OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

"A book which no collector and no public library can possibly do without."—*Times.*

"One of the most trustworthy and useful books of reference."—*Notes and Queries.*

"On the whole it turns out a compilation of the highest value and utility. . . . This excellent book fills a void which is so acutely felt that it scarcely needs any recommendation."—*Magazine of Art.*

Small 4to. 4 vols. 36s. net.

Printed on handmade paper, with 35 Illustrations.

VASARI'S
LIVES OF THE MOST EMINENT PAINTERS, SCULPTORS, AND ARCHITECTS.

A Selection of Seventy of the Lives.

EDITED AND ANNOTATED IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT DISCOVERIES BY

E. H. and E. W. BLASHFIELD and A. A. HOPKINS.

"This edition of a sterling classic, although confessedly but a selection, is a really valuable work. Its ample and scholarly notes compensate for the omission of the less important lives. . . . In clear print, handy size, and comely binding, it is pre-eminently the art student's edition, and for all practical purposes is as good a working book of reference as one need wish."—*Studio.*

"So much of Vasari as is contained in these volumes has never before been presented to the English reader in so satisfactory a form."—*Literature.*

"The best way of learning what we want to know about Michael Angelo or Raphael and other great Renaissance men is to read Vasari, together with the illuminating comments the present editors afford us."—*Spectator.*

LONDON: GEORGE BELL AND SONS.

FINE ART ENGRAVERS
AND PRINTERS.

THE
SWAN ELECTRIC
ENGRAVING
COMPANY,

116, Charing Cross Road, London, W.C.

ENGRAVERS AND PRINTERS
OF PHOTOGRAVURE PLATES.
OF "SWANTYPE" BLOCKS.
OF FINE LINE-WORK.

THE LEADING FIRM IN GREAT BRITAIN FOR
ALL HIGH-CLASS REPRODUCTION WORK,
INCLUDING THE ORTHOCHROMATIC
PHOTOGRAPHY OF PICTURES
AND WORKS OF ART.

THE CHISWICK SHAKESPEARE.

Illustrated by BYAM SHAW.

WITH INTRODUCTIONS AND GLOSSARIES BY JOHN DENNIS.

This Edition of the Works of Shakespeare is being issued in single plays, each containing six full-page Illustrations by MR. BYAM SHAW, as well as head and tailpieces. The volumes are printed at the Chiswick Press, price 1*s.* 6*d.* net per volume, handsomely bound in linen, with gilt decoration; or in limp leather, 2*s.* net. A few copies, to be sold only in sets, printed on Japanese vellum, price 5*s.* net.

NOW READY.

HAMLET.
THE MERCHANT OF VENICE.
AS YOU LIKE IT.
MACBETH.
OTHELLO.
THE TEMPEST.
ROMEO AND JULIET.
THE WINTER'S TALE.
KING JOHN.
KING LEAR.

TO BE FOLLOWED BY

MIDSUMMER'S NIGHT'S DREAM. [*March.*
TWELFTH NIGHT. [*April.*
RICHARD II. [*May.*
CORIOLANUS. [*June.*

Further Volumes at monthly intervals.

"A fascinating little edition."—*Notes and Queries.*

"A cheap, very comely, and altogether desirable edition."—*Westminster Gazette.*

"But a few years ago such volumes would have been deemed worthy to be considered *éditions de luxe.* To-day the low price at which they are offered to the public alone prevents them being so regarded."—*Studio.*

"Mr. Shaw's designs, some of which are both clever and decorative, add considerably to the attraction of the edition. . . . But if the illustrations are to supply so notable a factor of the issue, other features, such as the clear and skilful editing of Mr. John Dennis, the excellent paper and type, the glossary, the convenient form of the volumes, are to be commended."—*Manchester Guardian.*

"Handy in shape and size, wonderfully cheap, beautifully printed from the Cambridge text, and illustrated quaintly yet admirably by Mr. Byam Shaw, we have nothing but praise for it. No one who wants a good and convenient Shakespeare—without excursuses, discursuses, or even too many notes—can do better, in our opinion, than subscribe to this issue: which is saying a good deal in these days of cheap reprints."—*Vanity Fair.*

"Altogether, it is a pretty and desirable little edition, and its moderate price should make it accessible to all classes of readers."—*Scotsman.*

"If the artist maintains throughout the same standard as he has set himself in these two instalments, his sketches, which have all the quaintness of sixteenth-century woodcuts, will constitute a very notable feature of the edition. . . . Materially the volumes are exceedingly neat. The paper is excellent, and the type such as might be expected from the Chiswick Press. Altogether, the edition will suit those who like volumes that are both handy enough to carry about in the pocket and sufficiently ornamental to figure on the book-shelf."—*Glasgow Herald.*

"What we like about these elegant booklets is the attention that has been paid to the paper, as well as to the print and decoration: such stout laid paper will last for ages. On this account alone, the 'Chiswick' *should easily be first* among pocket Shakespeares."—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

LONDON: GEORGE BELL AND SONS.

MESSRS BELL'S
Publications on
Art and Architecture

SANDRO BOTTICELLI. By HERBERT P. HORNE. With about 40 Photogravure Plates. 225 Copies only, printed on hand-made paper. Crown folio. £10, 10*s.* net.

DANTE GABRIEL ROSSETTI: AN ILLUSTRATED MEMORIAL OF HIS ART. By H. C. MARILLIER. With 30 Photogravure Plates, and 170 other Illustrations, including a large number never before reproduced. Small folio. £5, 5*s.* net.

REMBRANDT VAN RIJN AND HIS WORK. By MALCOLM BELL. With 8 Photogravure Plates, and 74 other Illustrations. Containing also very complete lists of the known works of the Artist, including his Etchings, and giving all particulars of date, size, exhibition, etc. Small colombier 8vo. 25*s.* net.

FRENCH PAINTERS OF THE 18TH CENTURY. By LADY DILKE. With 11 Photogravure Plates, and 64 Half-Tone Illustrations; containing a number of pictures never before reproduced. Limited Large Paper Edition, fcap. folio, with extra Illustrations, £2, 2*s.* net. Library Edition, imp. 8vo, 28*s.* net.

THE PRE-RAPHAELITE PAINTERS, THEIR ASSOCIATES AND SUCCESSORS. By PERCY H. BATE. With 7 Photogravure Plates, and 84 other Illustrations. Small colombier 8vo. £2, 2*s.* net.

SIR J. E. MILLAIS, BART., P.R.A.: HIS ART AND INFLUENCE. By A. LYS BALDRY. Illustrated with 87 reproductions in Half-Tone and 2 Photogravure Plates. Large post 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

SIR EDWARD BURNE-JONES, BART. A Record and Review. By MALCOLM BELL. With over 100 Illustrations. Fourth Edition, entirely revised, with many new Illustrations. Large post 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

FREDERIC, LORD LEIGHTON. An Illustrated Chronicle. By ERNEST RHYS. With 83 Illustrations and 12 Photogravure Plates. Small colombier 8vo. 25*s.* net.

ALBERT MOORE: HIS LIFE AND WORKS. By A. LYS BALDRY. With 8 Photogravures and about 70 other Illustrations. Small colombier 8vo. 21*s.* net.

Messrs Bell's Books

THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH: His Life and Works. By Mrs Arthur Bell (N. D'Anvers). With 57 Illustrations, including 6 Photogravures. Small colombier 8vo. 25*s.* net.

WILLIAM MORRIS: His Art, His Writings, and His Public Life. By Aymer Vallance, M.A., F.S.A. With 60 Illustrations and Portrait. Third Edition. Imperial 8vo. 25*s.* net.

VANDYCK'S PICTURES AT WINDSOR CASTLE. By Ernest Law. Crown folio, with 30 Plates in Photogravure. £6, 6*s.* net.

RAPHAEL'S MADONNAS, and other Great Pictures. By Karl Károly. With 9 Photogravures and 44 other Illustrations. Small colombier 8vo. 21*s.* net.

MASTERPIECES OF THE GREAT ARTISTS, A.D. 1400-1700. By Mrs Arthur Bell (N. D'Anvers). With 43 Illustrations, including 8 Photogravures. Small colombier 8vo. 21*s.* net.

THE ART OF VELASQUEZ. A Critical Study. By R. A. M. Stevenson. Printed on hand-made paper, with 25 Photogravures and 100 other Illustrations. 4to. £2, 5*s.* net.

MASTERS OF MEZZOTINT: The Men and their Work. By Alfred Whitman. With 60 Collotype Plates. Small colombier 8vo. £2, 2*s.* net.

THE ROYAL GALLERY OF HAMPTON COURT ILLUSTRATED: being an Historical Catalogue of the Pictures in the Queen's Collection at that Palace, with Descriptive, Biographical, and Critical Notes by Ernest Law, B.A. Revised, enlarged, and Illustrated with 100 Plates. Fcap. 4to, white buckram. 30*s.* net.

THE GLASGOW SCHOOL OF PAINTING. By David Martin. With Introduction by Francis H. Newbery. With 60 Illustrations. Crown 4to. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

ETCHING IN ENGLAND. By Frederick Wedmore. With 50 Illustrations. Small 4to. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.

THE BASES OF DESIGN. By Walter Crane. With 200 Illustrations. Medium 8vo. 18*s.* net.

LINE AND FORM. By Walter Crane. With numerous Illustrations. Medium 8vo. [*In the Press.*

MEMORIALS OF CHRISTIE'S. By W. Roberts. With 80 Collotype and other Illustrations. Royal 8vo. 2 vols., 25*s.* net.

REX REGUM: A Painter's Study of the Likeness of Christ from the Time of the Apostles to the Present Day. By Sir Wyke Bayliss, F.S.A., President of the Royal Society of British Artists. With numerous Illustrations reproduced from the Original Paintings. Post 8vo. 6*s.* net.

WESTMINSTER ABBEY: Its History and Architecture. With 75 large Collotype Plates from recent photographs, many of which have been taken expressly for this work. Historical text by H. J. Feasey, accompanied by an Architectural Account of the Abbey Buildings by J. T. Micklethwaite, F.S.A., Architect to the Dean and Chapter, and an Appendix on the earlier Sepulchral Monuments by Edward Bell, M.A., F.S.A., 250 copies only. Large imperial 4to. £5, 5*s.* net.

A HISTORY OF RENAISSANCE ARCHITECTURE IN ENGLAND, A.D. 1500-1800. By Reginald Blomfield, M.A. With 150 Illustrations drawn by the Author, and 100 Plates from Photographs and old Prints and Drawings. Imp. 8vo. 2 vols. 50*s.* net.

A HISTORY OF GOTHIC ART IN ENGLAND. By E. S. Prior. With about 300 Illustrations by G. C. Horsley. Imp. 8vo. 31*s.* 6*d.* net. [*In the Press.*

ARCHITECTURAL STUDIES IN FRANCE. By the late Rev. J. L. Petit, F.S.A. With more than 250 Illustrations. New Edition, revised by Edward Bell, M.A., F.S.A. Fcap. 4to. 15*s.*

NOTES ON IRISH ARCHITECTURE. By the Earl of Dunraven. Edited by Margaret Stokes, Hon. M.R.I.A. With very numerous Illustrations. Imp. 4to. 2 vols. £8, 8*s.*

THE PRINCIPLES OF GOTHIC ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE. By M. H. Bloxham. With numerous Illustrations. Eleventh Edition. 3 vols. Crown 8vo. 22*s.* 6*d.*

A TREATISE ON STAIRBUILDING AND HANDRAILING. Intended for the use of House and Ship Joiners, Builders, Architects, and Students. By William Mowat, M.A., Science Master, School of Science and Art, Barrow-in-Furness; late Examiner in Ship Joinery to the City and Guilds of London Institute, and Alexander Mowat, M.A., Science Master, School of Science and Art, Barrow-in-Furness. Imperial 8vo. With numerous Illustrations.

LATER RELIQUES OF OLD LONDON. Drawn in Lithography by T. R. Way. With Introduction and Descriptive Letterpress by H. B. Wheatley, F.S.A. Demy 4to. 21*s.* net.

SUBURBAN RELIQUES OF OLD LONDON: North of the Thames. Drawn in Lithography by T. R. Way. With Introduction and Descriptive Letterpress by H. B. Wheatley, F.S.A. Demy 4to. 21*s.* net.

RELIQUES OF OLD LONDON on the Banks of the Thames and in the Suburbs South of the River. Drawn in Lithography by T. R. Way. With Introduction and Descriptive Letterpress by H. B. Wheatley, F.S.A. Demy 4to. 21*s.* net.

THE BOOK OF SUN-DIALS. By H. K. F. Eden and E. Lloyd. Third and much enlarged Edition. With numerous Illustrations. Imp. 8vo.

A BIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL DICTIONARY OF PAINTERS AND ENGRAVERS. With a List of Ciphers, Monograms, and Marks. By MICHAEL BRYAN. New Edition, revised and enlarged, by R. E. GRAVES and SIR WALTER ARMSTRONG. 2 vols. Imperial 8vo, buckram. £3, 3*s*.

CONCISE HISTORY OF PAINTING. By MRS CHARLES HEATON. New Edition, revised by COSMO MONKHOUSE. 5*s*.

LANZI'S HISTORY OF PAINTING IN ITALY, from the Period of the Revival of the Fine Arts to the End of the Eighteenth Century. Translated by THOMAS ROSCOE. 3 vols., 3*s*. 6*d*. each.

DIDRON'S CHRISTIAN ICONOGRAPHY. A History of Christian Art in the Middle Ages. Translated by E. J. MILLINGTON, and completed, with additions, by MARGARET STOKES. With 240 Illustrations. 2 vols. 10*s*.

VASARI'S LIVES. A Selection of Seventy of the Lives. Edited and annotated in the light of modern discoveries by E. H. and E. W. BLASHFIELD and A. A. HOPKINS. Illustrated. 4 vols. Pott 4to. 36*s*. net.

CUNNINGHAM'S LIVES OF THE MOST EMINENT BRITISH PAINTERS. A New Edition, with Notes, and Sixteen fresh Lives, by MRS HEATON. 3 vols., 3*s*. 6*d*. each.

HISTORY OF BRITISH COSTUME, from the Earliest Time to the Close of the Eighteenth Century. By J. R. PLANCHE, Somerset Herald. With Index, and upwards of 400 Illustrations. 5*s*.

FAIRHOLT'S COSTUME IN ENGLAND. A History of Dress to the End of the Eighteenth Century. Third Edition, revised, by VISCOUNT DILLON, V.P.S.A. With above 700 Engravings. 2 vols., 5*s*. each.

LECTURES AND LESSONS ON ART. By the late F. W. MOODY, Instructor in Decorative Art at South Kensington Museum. With Diagrams. Eighth Edition. Demy 8vo. 4*s*. 6*d*.

THE ART OF SKETCHING FROM NATURE. By P. H. DELAMOTTE, late Professor of Drawing at King's College, London. Illustrated by 24 Woodcuts and 20 Coloured Plates. Royal 4to. 21*s*.

INTAGLIO ENGRAVING, PAST AND PRESENT. By EDWARD RENTON. Fcap. 8vo. Illustrated. 3*s*. 6*d*.

THE ANATOMY AND PHILOSOPHY OF EXPRESSION, AS CONNECTED WITH THE FINE ARTS. By SIR CHARLES BELL, K.H. Seventh Edition, revised, with numerous Illustrations. 5*s*.

LEONARDO DA VINCI'S TREATISE ON PAINTING. Translated by J. F. RIGAUD, R.A. New Edition, revised, with numerous Plates. 5*s*.

on Art and Architecture

FLAXMAN'S LECTURES ON SCULPTURE, as delivered before the President and Members of the Royal Academy. With Portrait and 53 Plates. *6s.*

LITERARY WORKS OF SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS. With a Memoir, etc., by H. W. BEECHY. 2 vols., *3s. 6d.* each.

AN ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF ARMS AND ARMOUR. By AUGUSTE DEMMIN. Translated by C. G. Black, M.A. With Index and nearly 2000 Illustrations. *7s. 6d.*

HOLBEIN'S DANCE OF DEATH. Printed from the Original Woodblocks of Bonner and Byfield. With an Introductory Note by AUSTIN DOBSON. 32mo, cloth, half parchment, gilt top. *2s. 6d.* net.

Ex-Libris Series

Edited by GLEESON WHITE

The volumes, printed at the Chiswick Press, in Imperial 16mo size, are profusely Illustrated.

ENGLISH BOOK-PLATES: ANCIENT AND MODERN. By EGERTON CASTLE, M.A., F.S.A. With more than 200 Illustrations. Third Edition. *10s. 6d.* net.

FRENCH BOOK-PLATES. By WALTER HAMILTON, F.R.H.S., F.R.G.S. New Edition, revised and considerably enlarged, with nearly 200 Illustrations. *8s. 6d.* net.

GERMAN BOOK-PLATES. By COUNT ZU LEININGEN-WESTERBURG and G. R. DENNIS. [*Preparing.*

AMERICAN BOOK-PLATES. By CHARLES DEXTER ALLEN. With 170 Illustrations, including 9 copper-plates. 500 pp. *12s. 6d.* net.

LADIES' BOOK-PLATES. By NORNA LABOUCHERE. With numerous Illustrations. *8s. 6d.* net. Special gilt binding, *10s.* net.

BOOKBINDINGS, OLD AND NEW. Notes of a Book-Lover. By BRANDER MATTHEWS. With numerous Illustrations. *7s. 6d.* net.

MODERN ILLUSTRATION. By JOSEPH PENNELL. Illustrated with 172 Drawings by modern artists. *10s. 6d.* net.

THE DECORATIVE ILLUSTRATION OF BOOKS, OLD AND NEW. By WALTER CRANE. With 150 Illustrations. *10s. 6d.* net.

DECORATIVE HERALDRY. By G. W. EVE. With 188 Illustrations. *10s. 6d.* net.

THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY. Reproduced in 79 Half-tone Plates from photographs of the work originally taken for the Department of Science and Art. With an Historical Description and Commentary by FRANK REDE FOWKE, of that Department. Imperial 16mo. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

Connoisseur Series

Edited by GLEESON WHITE

PICTURE POSTERS. A Handbook on the History of the Illustrated Placard. By CHARLES HIATT. 150 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

JAPANESE ILLUSTRATION. Being a History and Description of the Arts of Pictorial Woodcutting and Colour Printing in Japan. By EDWARD F. STRANGE, M.J.S. 8 Coloured and 80 Black-and-White Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

THE ART OF THE HOUSE. By ROSAMUND MARRIOTT WATSON. Numerous Collotype and other Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 6*s.* net.

BRITISH HISTORICAL PORTRAITS. H. B. WHEATLEY. 71 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

PORTRAIT MINIATURES. By G. C. WILLIAMSON, Litt.D. 194 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

Practical Designing Series

PRACTICAL DESIGNING. A Handbook on the preparation of Working Drawings for Carpets, Woven Fabrics, Metal Work, Wall Papers, Stained Glass, etc., showing the technical method of preparing designs for the manufacturer. Freely Illustrated. Edited by GLEESON WHITE. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. 5*s.*

ALPHABETS. A Handbook of Lettering, compiled for the use of Artists, Designers, Handicraftsmen, and Students. By EDWARD F. STRANGE. With 200 Illustrations. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. 5*s.*

MODERN ILLUSTRATION: Its Methods and Present Condition. By JOSEPH PENNELL. With 171 Illustrations. Student's Edition. Crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Bell's Handbooks

OF THE

GREAT MASTERS

IN PAINTING AND SCULPTURE.

Illustrated Monographs on the chief Painters and Sculptors of Ancient and Modern Times.

Edited by G. C. WILLIAMSON, Litt.D., author of "Richard Cosway and his Companions," "John Russell, R.A.," "Portrait Miniatures," etc.

The object of this Series is to supply short biographical and critical Monographs, sound in matter, adequate in illustration, and artistic in form and workmanship. A list of the artists' works in the chief galleries of Europe will be appended to each volume, with Descriptions and Notes. Also a Bibliography and Chronological Summary of the pictures. There will be about 40 Illustrations in each volume and a photogravure frontispiece.

POST 8vo. PRICE 5s. NET.

BERNARDINO LUINI. By GEORGE C. WILLIAMSON, Litt.D.

VELASQUEZ. By R. A. M. STEVENSON.

ANDREA DEL SARTO. By Miss H. GUINNESS.

LUCA SIGNORELLI. By MAUD CRUTTWELL.

CORREGGIO. By SELWYN BRINTON, M.A., Author of "The Renaissance in Italian Art."

RAPHAEL. By H. STRACHEY.

FRA ANGELICO. By LANGTON DOUGLAS, M.A.

CARLO CRIVELLI. By G. MCNEIL RUSHFORTH, M.A., Lecturer in Classics, Oriel College, Oxford.

THE BROTHERS BELLINI. By S. ARTHUR STRONG, M.A., Librarian to the House of Lords.

MICHAEL ANGELO. By CHARLES HOLROYD, Keeper of the National Gallery of British Art.

REMBRANDT. By MALCOLM BELL.

MEMLINC. By W. H. JAMES WEALE, late Keeper of the National Art Library.

MURILLO. By MANUEL B. COSSIO, Litt.D., Ph.D., Director of the Musée Pédagogique, Madrid.

TURNER. By CHARLES FRANCIS BELL, M.A., Deputy Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum.

Bell's Cathedral Series

Edited by GLEESON WHITE and E. F. STRANGE

Fully illustrated, well printed. Crown 8vo, cloth. *1s. 6d.* each.

Now ready.

CANTERBURY. By HARTLEY WITHERS. Third Edition, revised. 37 Illustrations.

CHESTER. By CHARLES HIATT. Second Edition, revised. 35 Illustrations.

DURHAM. By J. E. BYGATE. 44 Illustrations.

EXETER. By PERCY ADDLESHAW, B.A. Second Edition, revised. 35 Illustrations.

GLOUCESTER. By H. J. L. J. MASSÉ, M.A. 49 Illustrations.

HEREFORD. By A. HUGH FISHER, A.R.E. 40 Illustrations.

LICHFIELD. By A. B. CLIFTON. 42 Illustrations.

LINCOLN. By A. F. KENDRICK, B.A. Second Edition, revised. 46 Illustrations.

NORWICH. By C. H. B. QUENNELL. 38 Illustrations.

OXFORD. By the REV. PERCY DEARMER, M.A. Second Edition, revised. 34 Illustrations.

PETERBOROUGH. By the REV. W. D. SWEETING, M.A. Second Edition, revised. 51 Illustrations.

ROCHESTER. By G. H. PALMER, B.A. Second Edition, revised. 38 Illustrations.

SALISBURY. By GLEESON WHITE. Second Edition, revised. 50 Illustrations.

SOUTHWELL. By the REV. ARTHUR DIMOCK, M.A. 38 Illustrations.

WELLS. By the REV. PERCY DEARMER, M.A. 43 Illustrations.

WINCHESTER. By P. W. SERGEANT. Second Edition, revised. 50 Illustrations.

YORK. By A. CLUTTON-BROCK. Second Edition, revised. 41 Illustrations.

In the Press.

CARLISLE. By C. K. ELEY.

ST. PAUL'S. By the REV. ARTHUR DIMOCK, M.A.

Preparing.

BRISTOL. By H. J. L. J. MASSÉ, M.A.

ST. DAVID'S. By PHILIP ROBSON, A.R.I.B.A.

ELY. By the REV. W. D. SWEETING, M.A.

WORCESTER. By E. F. STRANGE.

CHICHESTER. By H. C. CORLETTE, A.R.I.B.A.

ST. ALBANS. By the REV. W. D. SWEETING, M.A.

RIPON. By CECIL HALLETT, B.A.

ST. ASAPH'S and BANGOR. By P. B. IRONSIDE BAX.

GLASGOW. By P. MACGREGOR CHALMERS, I.A., F.S.A.(Scot.).

Uniform with the above Series.

BEVERLEY MINSTER. By CHARLES HIATT.

ST. MARTIN'S CHURCH, CANTERBURY. By CANON ROUTLEDGE.

WIMBORNE MINSTER and CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY. By the REV. T. PERKINS, M.A.

WESTMINSTER ABBEY. By CHARLES HIATT. [*Preparing.*

TEWKESBURY ABBEY. By H. J. L. J. MASSÉ, M.A. [*In the Press.*

W. H. WHITE AND CO. LTD., RIVERSIDE PRESS, EDINBURGH.